

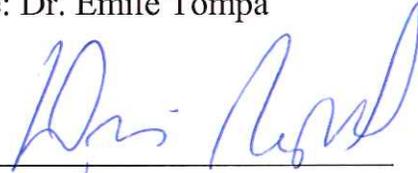
A Critical Literature Review on the Impact of Precarious Work on the Mental
Health of Immigrant Women in Canada

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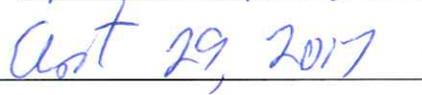
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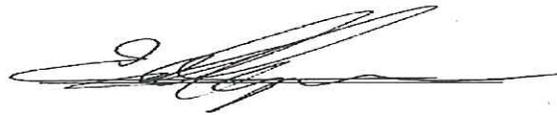
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Date Approved: September 29, 2017

A Major Research Paper (MRP) submitted to the Graduate Program in
Health in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Art

Graduate Program in Health

York University

Toronto

Ontario

M3J 1P3

September 2017

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Abstract

This critical review draws on existing literature on the discourse of precarious work within the Canadian nation-state. The goal of this research work is to critically examine the impact of precarious work on the lives, well-being and mental health of immigrants with a specific focus on immigrant women. Given that most research works have been mainly focused on the way in which precarious work creates health inequalities, this paper aims to throw light on the way in which precarious work can affect mental health. Also, the paper will examine the Canadian public policy response to this issue. The paper argues that Canada's policy response is a reflection of the dominant political ideology within this nation-state. The dominant political ideology of neoliberalism seeks to justify minimal state intervention in policies that directly affect health and more broadly citizen's life.

The following principal questions will guide this critical review. 1) Why are immigrants, particularly immigrant women of color disproportionately situated in precarious forms of labour within the Canadian nation-state? 2) How does precarious work affect the mental health of immigrant women? 3) How and to what extent has capitalism and neoliberalism within the Canadian nation-state helped to perpetuate precarious working conditions for racialized immigrant women? By interrogating Canada's neoliberal policy agenda as it affects immigrants through entrenched legislations of immigrant classes, the primary goal of this paper is to advance the construction that immigrants/migrants exist for economic exploitation and gain. The main theoretical framework that will guide this analysis is based on a post-colonial feminist scholarship that analyzes how inequities grounded on gender, race, class, and migratory status intersect to create complex and diverse labour market results for racialized immigrant women in Canada.

A common theme that emerged throughout the critical review of several scholarly and grey literatures is that more women than men are situated in precarious work, and of those women in precarious forms of employment, women who identified as members of a visible minority group were even more disproportionately situated in precarious forms of work. Also, it was observed that the Canadian nation-state has to date failed to respond appropriately to this social and economic situation. Since employment and working conditions, unemployment and employment security -- described as some of the most crucial social determinants of health -- are significantly correlated to income and its security, allowing precarious work has only served to reinforce high-levels of income inequality, income insecurity and poverty within Canada.

Keywords: global North, global South, immigrant, precarious work, neoliberalism, gender, political economy, nation-state, and mental health

Introduction

The current state of unrest in the world has seen immigration become a global phenomenon presenting numerous challenges. Immigration is an emerging challenge due to the overrepresentation of immigrants coming from countries in the global South who historically are classified as poor, developing and underdeveloped. As world migration continues to rise, the nature of work has been dramatically altered to include more flexibility (Tompa et al., 2007) and mobility. The new flexible and mobile economy has given rise to the creation of jobs that deviate from traditional standard employment relations. In its place is a new typology of work described as “precarious” and characterized by uncertainty, flexibility, low pay, and income insecurity (Menéndez et al., 2007). Precarious work has become the norm in both developing and industrialized nations (Menéndez et al., 2007). As countries in both the developed and developing world grapple with this new reality, it is crucial to examine the differential impact of precarious work on different populations and subpopulations. It is in line with such thinking that this paper looks at how precarious work disproportionately affects immigrants, particularly racialized immigrant women in Canada. Also, this paper will explore the mental health effects of precarious work on this segment of the Canadian population by highlighting the multifaceted ways in which job insecurity, low pay, and poor access to health care combine to create poor physical and mental health conditions for immigrant women.

This research applies a black feminist lens to examining what is already known on the issue of precarious work. Birman (2005) argues that research involving immigrants’ places great obligation on the researcher since the result of their investigations can be used to inform policies that has the power to potentially impact a high number of people. Although researchers such as Leah Vosko, Wayne Lewchuk, and others have done numerous works on the subject, this study

contributes a critical African feminist lens to the discourse. Through research, I have found that the voices of African immigrant women are largely silent or altogether absent in research on work experiences that directly affects them. This study aims to fill the void by bringing to the forefront the racialized, and often gendered work experiences of immigrant women entangled on the borders of precarious work, and to offer direction to governments on appropriate policy responses. Further research into the escalating issue of precarious work in Canada has the potential to add to academic scholarship, feminist scholarship, public policy and practice, and a better comprehension of the issue.

Hence, in this study, I examine the following overarching question- *why are immigrants overrepresented in precarious employment?* This question will serve as the basis of my analysis, and later guide the policy recommendations that will be provided in the concluding chapter. Further, this paper will more specifically examine the following research questions in an attempt to address the deeply contested issue of precarious work.

1. Why are immigrants, particularly immigrant women of color disproportionately situated in precarious forms of labour within Canada?
2. How does precarious work affect the mental health of immigrant women in Canada?
3. How and to what extent has capitalism and neoliberalism within the Canadian nation-state helped to perpetuate precarious working conditions for racialized immigrant women?

My goal in writing this major research paper (MRP) is expose those structures and processes that act as barriers to the successful integration of immigrant women in Canada into decent work. The International Labor Organization (ILO) defines decent work as work opportunities that is profitable and provides an equitable income, workplace protection and

social safety for families, better opportunities for personal development along with social solidarity, liberty for individuals to convey their worries, unionize and partake in decisions that influence their lives, and fairness of opportunity and treatment for all individuals irrespective of gender (ILO, 2017).

Before beginning my analysis, I must acknowledge my own positionality originating from my social location and how it will steer this work. As the researcher, I must begin by stating that I am implicated in this realm of precariousness in a multi-dimensional way -- both as a woman, an immigrant, as a person of color, a member of a visible minority group, and a worker in a precarious work environment. As an immigrant woman from West Africa, I immigrated to Canada as a dependent spouse under the skilled workers' immigration category. Although I share comparable characteristics with the many immigrant women on whom research has been focused, I must acknowledge my privilege as a person who migrated here with family, high levels of English language verbal and written abilities, and some degree of Western cultural capital (university degrees). Notwithstanding, I arrived as a dependent spouse, expected to fulfill my roles as predetermined by the nation-state, so this analysis is informed by my lived experiences as both a settler/trespasser here in Canada.

Brief Background of the Issue

According to a United Nations (UN) report on migration, world migration reached a new high of 244 million in 2015. This is up from the 222 million reported in 2010 and 173 million reported at the start of the millennium (United Nations, 2016). It is no wonder then that terms such as 'migrant', 'immigrant', 'refugee', 'asylum seekers', and 'displaced persons' have become some of the most popular words in the world sphere. The term "immigrants" according to Benach, Muntaner, Chung, & Benavides (2010) are used to describe individuals residing

outside of their place of birth or citizenship. Benach et al (2010) note that about half of the world's migrant populations are economically viable migrant workers. Prior to the 1960s, migration to Canada was generally restricted to applicants who were predominantly from Western Europe and the United States of America (often referred to as Traditional source countries or TSCs) (Akkaymak, 2016). Next, the adoption of a points system transformed the traditional constitution of the migrant population, as the percentage of migrants from non-traditional source countries (NTSCs) broadened (Green & Green as cited in Akkaymak, 2016). For instance, Nevitte & Kanji (as cited in Akkaymak, 2016) argue that "while the ratio of migrants from TSCs to those from NTSCs was about 9:1 in the 1960s, the ratio had dropped to about 3:1 by the middle of the 1980s (p. 659)." Subsequently, on June 28, 2002, the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) were introduced to replace the immigration Act of 1967 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), as cited in Man, 2004). By advancing the revised Citizenship and Immigration Act, Canada's main goal is to make certain that immigration results in the highest attainable social and economic advantage for the state (CIC, as cited in Man, 2004). Thus, Man (2004) asserts that the revised immigration Act of 2002, clearly ties the mobilization of immigrants with human capital with the sole purpose of achieving "competitive advantage" (p.135) in this age of economic globalization.

Waite, Lewis, Dwyer, & Hodkinson (2015) maintain that immigration regimes continually determine and position able bodies along a spectrum. On one end of the spectrum are legal/desirable immigrants; while on the other end are immigrants who are considered to be illegal/undesirable (Waite et al., 2015). It is on this latter end of the scale that the immigrant worker/employee/jobseeker under analysis in this paper is often to be found. Statistics Canada define immigrants as people who have chosen to settle in a Canada for good, and those who have

been accepted as permanent residents or granted citizenship (Akkaymak (2016). Hence, in applying the terms im/migrant, this paper does not lay claim to the legal or specialized notion of the word. Instead, this paper refers to the practical use of the terms to relate to individuals who are viewed as im/migrants by others, notwithstanding their official status (whether as refugees or asylum seekers, permanent residents or those who have been granted citizenship) (Man, 2004).

Within the Canadian nation-state, although immigration lies under the jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments, the federal government has historically controlled this domain (Dobrowolsky, 2012). Federal immigration classes comprise of three distinct types namely: economic class, family class, and refugee class (Dobrowolsky, 2012; Chui, 2011; Man, 2004; Jackson & Bauder, 2013). In addition, the economic class is segmented into the skilled worker's category, Canadian experience class, live-in caregiver program, provincial nominee program, and the business immigrants (Chui, 2011; Dobrowolsky, 2012). The economic class migrants, comprising of skilled workers and business class applicants, are individuals selected based on their skills and capability to enrich the Canadian economy (CIC, as cited in Jackson & Bauder, 2013). The skilled worker category remains the largest division of the economic class (Dobrowolsky, 2012). Skilled workers are allowed into Canada depending on their ability to add to the present and future interests of the Canadian economy (Akkaymak, 2016). Also, they must possess adaptable skills to be able to adjust to a constantly changing labour market (CIC, as cited in Jackson & Bauder, 2013). Their capability is appraised through a "points system," -- a selection method that allots an applicant a maximum of 100 points based on the following criteria: level of education, understanding of one of Canada's official languages (either English or French), previous work experience, age of applicant, proposed employment in Canada, and ability to adapt (CIC, as cited in Jackson & Bauder, 2013; Man, 2004). In addition, individuals

who request to enter Canada need to gain a minimum of 75 points out of 100 points in order to qualify for immigration (Man, 2004). Also, some skilled immigrant workers are authorized to enter Canada under the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) that selects individuals based on their ability to fulfil certain labour needs in a given province (Jackson & Bauder, 2013).

Furthermore, the business immigrant category has been expanded to include both entrepreneurs as well as business investors (Dobrowolsky, 2012). The business class category is aimed at investors who will be able to sustain the progress of a dynamic and enduring economy (CIC, as cited in Jackson & Bauder, 2013). More women than men are reportedly found in the live-in caregiver program, whereas 85.8% of men are represented as business immigrants, entrepreneurs and 83.6% as investors (Dobrowolsky, 2012).

Methodology/Methods

Presently, the research paradigm for this critical literature review is based on a post-colonial feminist scholarship informed by the works of Anderson & McCann. Post-colonial perspective provides a deliberate involvement with the experience of colonialism and its former and present effects, and confronts ideas about a global position on knowledge improvement (Anderson & McCann, 2002). Also, this theoretical framework provides a window for comprehending how notions of 'race', ideas of the racialized 'Other' (noted with an initial upper-case letter to indicate a particular group and space to which 'non-Western' people, produced as subordinates through the process of racialization and ethnic essentialism, have been attributed), ever-changing identities, and mixed cultures, have been fabricated within particular historical and colonial contexts (Anderson & McCann, 2002, p. 8). Ashcroft (1996, as cited in Anderson & McCann, 2002) argues that post-colonial discussion comes from the viewpoints of the colonized and is constructed as an actual condition instead of as a chronological period. Post-colonial

theory offers a theoretical lens for unveiling the colonizing influences that have framed the creation of gendered and racialized identities, and for transforming the manner in which we contemplate identity and culture (Anderson & McCann, 2002). Bhabha (as cited in Anderson & McCann, 2002) argues that post-colonial theory emanates from those who have endured the ‘sentence of history’ -- oppression, power, diaspora, and dismissal-- that we discover as our most lasting lessons for existence and reasoning. Anderson & McCann (2002) draw on the works of Bhabha and identify black people living in neoliberal states -- Canada, United States and United Kingdom -- as post-colonial subjects.

Still, post-colonial scholarship does not by itself necessarily involve a gendered analysis-- the critique that highlights feminist scholarship. Such a critique has been advocated by intellectuals who have delivered the theoretical lens to confront matters of sexuality from the standpoint of the post-colonial female subject and discloses the varied social and historical sites from which men and women converse (Anderson & McCann, 2002). Employing a gendered critique underlines that distinctions among men and women, and between women themselves, necessitates recognition. More significantly, a post-colonial feminist standpoint identifies the demand for knowledge construction from the position of the marginalized female subject whose opinion has been subdued in the process of knowledge production (Anderson & McCann, 2002). This discourse is important particularly in neoliberal nations where conceptualizations of migration and work are highly gendered. The preceding analysis therefore highlights the need to research feminist scholarship from the perspective of the post-colonial female subject (Anderson & McCann, 2002). Further, post-colonialism coupled with black feminism helps throw light on the ways in which race, gender, class, and cultural orientation intersects to advance our knowledge of the material conditions of living, influenced by history, shape the

migration/immigration and work experiences of those in Bhabha's words who have endured 'the silence of history' (Bhabha, as cited in Anderson & McCann, 2002). Together, Anderson & McCann (2002) suggest both terms can be used as post-colonial feminist scholarship. The term "black" is employed here not as a biological grouping, but as a political one to mean people of a different skin tone (Ahmad, as cited in Anderson & McCann, 2002). Black feminism is from a specific sociopolitical location that portrays the positionality of black women residing in more developed countries of the global North (Anderson & McCann, 2002).

It must be distinctly noted that post-colonialism is a transnational process that extends beyond any individual society (Hall, as cited in Anderson & McCann, 2002). This paper will subscribe to the interpretations presented by Anderson & McCann (2002) that post-colonial discourse renders the basis for discontinuing "ahistorical, generalizing, essentializing, culturalist, and racializing discourses" (p. 13) which have grouped individuals in accordance with racial classifications and rankings. Cashmore (1988) defines racialization as the political and ideological way whereby specific populations are distinguished directly or indirectly due to actual or imagined phenotypical features. Post-colonialism provides a model for provoking the fixedness of race and culture (Anderson & McCann, 2002). It steers attention to race and racialization as socially constructed via the historical, social, economic and political systems of colonization (Anderson & McCann, 2002). From a post-colonial feminist standpoint, we might better understand that the barriers immigrant women face in their labour market experience, may not be entirely due to the difficulties that arise as a result of the intersections of gender, race, class and status, but instead, to historical processes that produce and perpetuate systemic inequities and subjugation (Anderson & McCann, 2002). While post-colonialism provides the theoretical position from which to challenge the historical construction of the racialized and

cultural 'Other' via the mechanisms of colonization, black feminism on the other hand drives us to examine the ways in which issues of class, race, and gender simultaneously intersect (Anderson & McCann, 2002). Further, the unique experiences of racialized people produce understandings that are intended to crack predominant discourses about gender, class, and race relations. The black feminist framework moves past recognizing inequalities by reason of class, race and gender relations, to careful analysis of inequality as chronicled amid colonial relations (Anderson & McCann, 2002). For it is the social responsibility and duty of the post-colonial feminist researcher not only to alter assumptions, but to convey this alteration and to guarantee that current knowledge is utilized in addressing and rectifying former injustices and differences (Anderson & McCann, 2002).

I carried out this literature synthesis and policy review to outline prevailing evidence and policy directions associated with labour market engagement and outcome of racialized immigrant subpopulations (in this instance women). I conducted this critical review from the end of June 2017 until September 2017. I began by engaging the expertise of librarians from both York and Ryerson Universities. Through the library database of both universities, I identified several relevant studies to be included in this work. Peer reviewed journals and grey literature were searched using PROQUEST, CINAHL, GOOGLE SCHOLAR, JSTOR, SCHOLARS PORTAL, GENDER and WORKS databases. Also, I applied for/and received permission to use the gender and works database -- a database specifically designed by Leah Vosko and colleagues to present both qualitative and quantitative research data on the issue of precarious work. Furthermore, I searched various government and inter-government and non-government websites including, but not limited to: Canada Without Poverty, United Nations, OECD, WHO, Statistics Canada, Government of Canada, United Way Toronto, and Law Commission of Ontario.

Based on my research topic, the following keywords were initially identified and included in the database searches: precarious work, gender, immigrant, migrant, refugee-claimant, racialized women, political economy, social determinants of health, and unpaid labour. Also, a manual search of references was also conducted by hand in order to capture related articles that touched on the research question that might have been excluded from the database searches due to my limited keyword search. Additionally, I consulted references of most of my previously unpublished papers relating to the issue. There were no formal structure inclusion/exclusion criteria set for this study. Instead, I have carefully selected those studies that more clearly address the study aims.

Limitations of the Study

It is important to mention that a substantial amount of literature has emerged over the years on the discourse of precarious work. It is beyond the scope of this paper to engage with all of the debates and viewpoints. But I have attempted as best as I can to include the recurring themes in these articles, which I believe, are reflective of the wider debates. Also, since the aims of this paper are more modest, I have limited my focus to examining only published academic, government and scholarly articles that relate to my study aims. In so doing, I have excluded those analyses that fall outside of the study aims. Further, this analysis was constrained by the lack of theoretical explanations demonstrating the possible pathways by which precarious work impacts mental health of racialized immigrant women.

One of the most obvious limitations of the literature is the lack of feminist scholarship that specifically addresses the issue of precarious work and how it affects women's health in the Canadian nation-state. Merolli (2012) pointed out in her literature review, that only a handful of research studies have weighed the gendered dimensions of precarious employment and its

influence on women's health. Another limitation I found was a clear lack of African feminist scholarship on this discourse. This was by far one of my biggest challenges because I wanted the voices of African women, written by African women, for other African women to form the basis of my analysis. Seeing that the voices of African women are still missing from research on issues that disproportionately affect them is problematic.

Conceptualizing Migration

Benach, Muntaner, Chung, & Benavides (2010) highlight the necessity to confront the difficulty of reaching an agreement about the primary nature of immigration and its conceptualizations. Terms including minority group, ethnic minority, immigrant, foreigner, refugee, and migrant are regularly employed to allude to new arrivals (Benach et al., 2010). Pozniak (2009) recognizes two different narratives that frame Canadian debates on immigration. By analyzing Canadian newspapers, government publications, speeches, factsheets, reports, and media releases, Pozniak, aimed to show the main ideas and images that shape state and media discussions around immigration issues as it pertains to migration and migrants (Pozniak, 2009). Further, Pozniak asserts that these approximations can further be categorized using two distinct themes: first, the *assets and costs*, and second, *immigrant ethnic* accounts which form important elements of powerful Canadian discussions on immigration, and later on, shape narratives that must be traversed by immigrants to Canada (Pozniak as cited by Jackson & Bauder, 2013, p. 4). Pozniak (2009) claims that new immigrants are cognizant of this discursive discrimination between the *good immigrant* (conscientious, diligent, and deserving of citizenship), and *bad immigrant* (parasitic, a burden to the taxpayer, and well undeserving of citizenship), and subsequently, regulate their individual identities and histories to suit the *good purposeful immigrant*.

In addition, Jackson & Bauder (2013) build on what Pozniak asserts by maintaining that publicly shaped representations of refugee claimants as *bogus* and *queue jumpers* located within debates of worthiness, equally function as an instrument by which immigrants form their identities and histories. These depictions are often unveiled in the media via newspapers or even state publications, and are used to represent a class of refugee claimants who are not only unwanted, but also impose waste by absorbing the funds required to help the *deserving migrant*, thus building a general climate of distrust. Again, Pozniak (2009) maintains that state and media debates contribute to separate the *good immigrant* from the *bad immigrant* (p. 178). Furthermore, Pozniak (2009) argues that state discourses construct migrants based on these distinct categories as *assets* that is, those who commit their human and cultural capital to advancing the Canadian economy, and hence give Canada a competitive edge in the global sphere (Akkaymak, 2016). Jackson & Bauder (2013) claim that these discourses, when formed within an awareness of legality and desirability, are traits linked with *bad migrants* may be implied as associable to refugee claimants.

Furthermore, the most regularly cited advantages of immigration are that it helps to restore Canada's declining population and work force, and that the skills, education, and professional experiences that migrants bring, increases Canada's a competitive ability in the global market place (CIC, as cited in Jackson & Bauder, 2013; Pozniak, 2009). A significantly dissimilar state discourse besieges *unsolicited* migrants - that is, family class migrants and refugee claimants. Family class migrants are family members of Canadian citizens or permanent residents who are sponsored to Canada and are granted residency upon arrival (CIC, as cited in Jackson & Bauder, 2013; Pozniak, 2009). Refugees are persons considered to require protection in Canada as their deportation may put their lives at risk (Pozniak, 2009). The contrast in purpose

among *solicited* and *unsolicited* migration constitutes a difference between migrants who are *chosen* because of their skills and accomplishments and consequently will add to Canadian economy upon arrival, and those who are allowed into Canada because of either family affiliations or humanitarian considerations rather than on their abilities or professional experience. What this implies is that these *unsolicited* migrants are perceived as a burden to Canada since their successful assimilation is tied to the State's ability to provide appropriate settlement assistance (Li, 2003). Allowing or disallowing citizenship is one of the ways by which rich industrialized nations like Canada can obtain their labour requirement without the price of delivering rewards, or the burden of giving account about work conditions to labour unions (Lee & Johnstone, 2013). Similar to government discussions, Canadian media discussions regularly address immigration problems from an economic standpoint. In his study of Colombian migrants, with respect to their job search experiences, Pozniak (2009) argues that immigrant experiences are shaped by the two dominant narratives- assets and cost, and immigrant ethic- which functions as theoretical models, or guides, for migration and migrants in Canada.

Precarious Work Defined

Employment/working conditions are among the most crucial determinants of health. The heterogeneous infusion of work arrangements in today's globalized world has created an urgent need for policies and actions that protect every worker's rights. Lewis et al (2015) define precarity as situations where people endure precariousness, and thus, create life-worlds that are linked with ambiguity and insecurity. Many researchers implied that the increase in precarity, both as a descriptor and a status, goes side by side with neoliberal globalization (Lewis et al., 2015; Merolli, 2012). The ILO (2011) defines precarious work in the most general terms as "a means for employers to shift risks and responsibilities on to workers. It is work performed in the

formal and informal economy and is characterized by variable levels and degrees of objective (legal status) and subjective (feeling) characteristics of uncertainty and insecurity (p. 5).” Similarly, Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich (2003) define precarious employment as “forms of employment involving atypical employment contracts, limited social benefits, and statutory entitlements, job insecurity, low job tenure, low earnings, poor working conditions and high risk of ill-health (p. 455). Hence, the term “precarious work” stresses the importance of the conditions of work (Cranford et al., 2003). Precarious work, which includes underemployment, stressful, or unsafe work conditions are linked to poorer mental health outcomes (Government of Canada, 2013; WHO, 2008). Also poor work quality has the potential to affect mental health in the same manner as job loss (WHO, 2008). Further, precarious work has been defined as the disintegration of the “standard employment relationship (SER)” (Lewchuk et al., 2014; Lewchuk & Clarke, 2011; Vives et al., 2013; Mantouvalou, 2012; Goldring & Joly, 2014; Vosko, Laxer, Walsh, Werner, 2014; Fudge & Vosko, 2001). Lewchuk et al (2014) argues that to be in SER, a person has to show that they have a permanent full-time job with a minimum of 30 working hours each week with the same employer, also that they expect to remain in this job over the course of one year, and that the job offers some additional advantages outside the primary pay. Lewchuk & Clarke (2011) maintain that the period post World War II in North America saw a rise in the SER in areas of the economy such as manufacturing, and for certain categories of employees, specifically white male.

Furthermore, Lewchuk & Clarke (2011) defines “employment relationship as the set of laws, rules, customs and practices that regulate exchanges between buyers and sellers of labour time (p. 21)”. The ILO (as cited in Lewchuk & Clarke, 2011) on the other hand defines employment relationship as a legal contractual framework used to refer to the relationship

between an individual referred to as a worker, and an employer for whom the worker executes tasks under certain situations in exchange for payment. In addition, the ILO suggests that it is through employment relationships that mutual rights and obligations are produced between the worker and their employer (ILO as cited in Lewchuk & Clarke, 2011). The Law Commission of Ontario (2012) identify various degrees of precariousness to include levels of remuneration, degree of regulatory protection provided, degree of job-related benefits, and the extent of command or authority within the work process.

According to Cranford et al (2003), SER “refers to a normative model of employment where the worker has one employer, works full-time, year-round on the employer’s premises under his or her supervision, enjoys extensive statutory benefits and entitlements, and expects to be employed indefinitely (p. 455).” The SER is the ideal upon which employment laws, regulations and guidelines are based, instigating an interrelationship between the advancement in atypical forms of work and growing precariousness that is profoundly gendered (Cranford et al., 2003; Vives et al., 2013; Vosko et al., 2014; Fudge & Vosko, 2001). While the decline in the SER affects the labour force collectively, it is mostly women, young employees, the perpetually unemployed, inexperienced workers, immigrant workers, and minorities that endure the biggest share of precarious work (Vives et al., 2013; Fudge & Vosko, 2001; Vosko et al., 2014). Furthermore, Cranford et al (2003) note that the SER, which is the institutionalized ideal of employment in Canada, does not consider the largely women and immigrant employees in modest and dispersed workplaces characteristic of service and competitive manufacturing establishments. Again, Cranford et al (2003) show that employment arrangements that fall outside of the SER model have historically been identified with women. Some scholars contend that the SER is established upon what some describe as a “patriarchal ideal” (Eichler, 1997, as

cited in Cranford et al., 2003; Vosko et al., 2014), and others perceive as a “male wage earner/female caretaker model” (Fraser, 1997, as cited in Cranford et al., 2003). In other words, the SER was devised to supply wage adequate for a man to provide for his family. Post World War II in Canada saw the SER become the demographic phenomenon for many men, especially white males, while women, particularly racialized and immigrant women continue to be confined to non-standard and precarious jobs. (Cranford et al., 2003; Vives et al., 2013; Fudge & Vosko, 2001).

The Economic Council of Canada (ECC) clearly describes non-standard employment as those employments that vary from the customary pattern of full-time permanent employment. In their research, ECC reports that the surge in non-standard work (which includes; part-time work, own-account of self-employment, temporary work, and holding multiple jobs) was rapidly outpacing the growth in full-time permanent jobs. The report further suggests that between 1980 and 1988, half of all new jobs produced were non-standard. (Economic Council of Canada as cited in Cranford et al., 2003). A 2013 report published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and development (OECD) reveals that only 29.7% of all Canadians were in non-standard type of work. Although a 2014 employment report by statistics Canada reveals that 15.3% of working Canadians were self-employed, 5.3% of working Canadians were involuntarily employed part-time, and 11.3% were in a temporary job (Fleury, 2016). Statistics Canada states that a person is considered to be in part-time employment only if they work less than 30 hours in their main job in any given week (Jackson, 2010). Therefore, findings by Lewchuk et al (2014) suggest a necessity to reassess the nature of the SER, which they argue is becoming not only less popular but also changing into something that is less stable.

Rodgers argues that precarious employment goes past the type of work to the

consideration of a range of elements that assists in determining whether a particular type of work exposes the employee to job insecurity, an absence of legal and union representation, and financial liability (Rodgers, 1989; Mantouvalou, 2012). Further, Rogers (1989) recognizes four ambits essential to determining whether a job is precarious or not, each of which centers on the characteristics of the job. The first ambit is the level of indefiniteness of maintaining work; here, time limits and the threat of job loss are stressed. Secondly, Rodgers presents the idea of authority/command over the labour process, connecting this aspect to existence or non-existence of a trade union and consequently command over employment status and measure of work. Thirdly, is the dimension of regulative assurance through union representation or law. In the final ambit, Rodgers (1989) proposes that the level of income is crucial, citing that a given employment may be deemed secure in terms of its stability and long tenure but precarious in the way that the pay may not be enough for the employee to survive on. Lewchuk et al (2014) presents similar measures to Rodgers, but went further to develop the “Employment Precarity Index (EPI)” (p. 54) (See Appendix E for a manual of EPI developed by Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario (PEPSO) in association with United Way Toronto & York Region), that combines both direct and indirect measures of employment insecurity to deliver a complete scale of total employment precarity.

Link between Immigration and Precarious Work

In light of the current situation in world economy, the developed countries have seen a surge in global migration. The Law Commission of Ontario (LCO) (2012) notes that the global drift in international migration has clearly impacted the composition of workers in Canada’s job market. Canada because of its generous welfare benefits has seen an influx of migrants from different parts of the world. In 2010, Citizenship and Immigration Canada documented the

arrival of 186,913 economic class migrant, and 182,276 temporary foreign workers to Canada (Lee & Johnstone, 2013). Migrants entering Canada do so under various official immigration classes, which bestow a status that ranges from somewhat precarious to fairly secure (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005). Self-sufficient immigrants whose statuses are relatively secure have been observed to be mostly males, while female migrants outmatch males in the dependent classes of immigration (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005). Prior research studies show that a migrant's immigration status upon arrival in host country has a profound impact on their social outcomes in areas directly linked to the social determinants of health such as employment, housing, social integration and professional accreditation. (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005; Lewis et al., 2015). Sadly, the precarious official status of millions of immigrant workers has left them susceptible to coercion or "forced labour (Lewis et al., 2015)", (Benach et al., 2010). Although immigrant workers are more susceptible to serious harm and exploitation, in particular, immigrant women working at the brink of the formal labour market with irregular employment face a higher risk of forced labour (Benach et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2015; WHO, 2008).

The discriminatory immigration policies and the marking of skillful immigrants are highly debatable. Therefore, the strategy adopted in Canada is aimed at bolstering Canada's competitive capability in the global market sphere with a proficient, ever-changing and flexible workforce that would provide Canada with a competitive edge in the post-industrial age of international competition (Man, 2004; Dobrowolsky, 2012; Chui, 2011; Lee & Johnstone, 2013). In such a sociopolitical climate, it is presumed that "skilled" migrant labour, contrary to their "unskilled" comparables, would relish an easy passage in reinserting themselves in the Canadian workforce (Man, 2004). Raghuram (2000) define skilled labourers as those individuals who possess either a college degree or university education and are in control of skills esteemed in the

job market, and with complete knowledge of the purpose of the skill as adjudicated by the uneven allocation of power along the lines of race, gender, class, ethnicity, place of origin and the economy. It is argued that the discriminatory policies will only serve to intensify the differential and adverse impact on women, especially low-income women and racialized women (Dobrowolsky, 2012).

Creese & Wiebe (2012) contend that highly discriminatory immigration procedures have broadened the academic advantage of immigrants versus Canadian-born labourers. For instance, between the years 1990 and 2000, the number of university degree holders among Canadian-born men grew from 16% to 19%, at the same time that it grew from 25% to 44% among new immigrant men (Frenette & Morissette, 2005). Therefore, the academic opportunities of recent immigrants according to human capital theorists should provide immigrants with an edge in vying for work (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Akkaymak, 2016). Contrarily, several research studies establish that recent immigrants have been afflicted more than any other group in the new flexible economy (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). There is a general belief among the Canadian public that immigrants from “third-world countries (p. 133)” (global South) hold substandard human capital. This depiction of skilled workers from the global South and its connotations conform to the belief of Canada as an ideal “White-settler nation (p. 133)” that has historically determined the admission of racialized workers into the Canadian job market (Galabuzi, 2006; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Information from a 2006 Census reveals that from 2001 to 2006, over three-quarters of immigrants to Canada had migrated from the global South or countries in that region (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

De-skilling and Devaluation of Immigrant Credentials

Bauder (2003) examines the work of Pierre Bourdieu on “cultural capital (p. 700)” and

his explanation of the pedagogical system as a site of social reproduction. Bauder (2003) advances this debate to include an immigration context, and argues that the non-acknowledgement of immigrant foreign certificates extends to the systematic denial of immigrant labourers from the uppermost segment of the Canadian job market. Further, Bauder (2003) argues that immigrants whose overseas education and experience are not recognized in Canada, forfeit access to jobs commensurate with their skills and experience, an effect referred to as “de-skilling”. This non-recognition of immigrants’ foreign degrees produces a division between Canadian-born workers and immigrant labourers (Bauder, 2003; Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Akkaymak, 2016). The LCO reports that the “deskilling” of immigrant credentials is also a gendered phenomenon. Deskilling usually occurs when immigrants have limited English language abilities, lack of Canada-specific work experience, and failure on the part of employers to acknowledge foreign education or experience, and blatant discrimination by employers (LCO, 2012). In fact, it has been observed that jobs, which do not necessitate Canadian-specific work experience often, require physical labour more apt for male rather than female workers (LCO, 2012). In fact, most regulatory bodies are not capable of evaluating foreign education and experience before an immigrant arrives in Canada, making it complex for immigrants to appraise the level of devaluation of their credentials before arriving in Canada (CIC 2002, as cited in Bauder, 2003; Akkaymak, 2016).

Additionally, Bauder (2003) suggests that what Bourdieu’s concept of “cultural capital” contributes to his work is a cultural explanation of institutionalized job market procedures. *Institutionalized cultural capital* is one of the three forms of cultural capital highlighted by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, as cited in Bauder, 2003). It denotes cultural ability by way of; endorsements such as an academic degree or college diploma (Bauder, 2003). Creese & Wiebe

(2012) argue that *institutionalized cultural capital* is better, more readily transformed into economic capital. While hitherto *institutionalized cultural capital* permitted the replication of class structure by way of dispensing cultural privilege to the bourgeoisie -- those sections of both the dominant and middle class who are affluent in economic capital- in a French context, the postwar democratizing of the French educational system cracked the dominants' class monopoly on education and made institutionalized cultural capital available to the populace (Bauder, 2003). Similarly, in a North American context, the increase in educational opportunities in the twentieth century has not influenced the ways in which various social classes benefit from these possibilities (Bauder, 2003). Instead of removing the importance of educational certification, the democratizing of education sustained, if not reinforced, the quality of official certification to occupational status (Bauder, 2003; Premji et al., 2014; Akkaymak, 2016).

In order to enlist in the skilled Canadian labour market, individuals in North America must possess a college degree or other institutional credentials. Therefore, immigrants who do not possess any such credentials by reason of their immigration status are formally excluded from the realm of skilled work. They are excluded even before the nation-state gives them a chance to demonstrate their skills and abilities. As Guo & Andersson put it, certificate acknowledgement is a political process that replicates existing power struggles (as cited in Creese & Wiebe, 2012). "Institutional processes here refers to those policies, and practices embedded in government, law, education, and professional systems (Man, 2004, p. 139)."

In an investigation carried out in the Vancouver area, Bauder found a weak relationship between education and job market performance of immigrants in comparison to Canadian-born population, indicating that the "presuppositions of a meritocratic society (Bauder 2003, p. 906)", in which educational achievement is compensated with professional status, is not applicable to

recent immigrants in the same measure as to Canadian-born employees (Bauder, 2003; Bauder & Cameron, 2002; Akkaymak, 2016). Bauder (2003) concludes that the responses of South Asian immigrants and those from former Yugoslavia who were part of his investigation suggest that the “devaluation of institutional cultural capital is a significant factor in the marginalization of highly skilled immigrant workers (p. 707)” (also Bauder & Cameron, 2002). Consequently, the devaluation of institutional cultural capital presents the uppermost parts of the Canadian job market as unattainable to immigrants from these visible minority populations (Bauder, 2003; Bauder & Cameron, 2002; Akkaymak, 2016). South Asian immigrants with outstanding human capital are frequently rejected from the uppermost segments of the Canadian job market in which they have been employed for years prior to migrating to Canada (Bauder, 2003). Further, many highly proficient migrants take up menial jobs far below their qualifications (Galabuzi, 2006; Bauder, 2003). Others continue the process of re-evaluating their foreign credentials only to uncover that the process of recertification is extremely long, tedious and costly (Bauder, 2003). Consequently, many immigrants are left vulnerable to income insecurity and subjugated to “social class shifting (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 137)”.

Similarly, in professions that are not officially controlled by regulatory bodies, the lack of Canadian-related work experience repeatedly serves as an easy way to exclude immigrant labourers (Bauder, 2003). The impact of employer’s demand for Canadian work experience is comparable to the non-acknowledgement of foreign education and diplomas, specifically the devaluation of labour (Bauder, 2003; Premji et al., 2014). Through the prerequisite for Canadian-acquired experience, employers obtain access to highly qualified immigrant labour at second-rate pay (Bauder, 2003). In several instances, the necessity for Canadian-acquired experience even supplies employers with enthusiastic workers who are willing to work for free (Bauder, 2003). In

this context, Khan argues that overseas education and job experience play out in a fashion comparable to race and ethnicity, and can in a sense symbolize the reason for discrimination (as cited in Akkaymak, 2016). In reality, many immigrants feel they have been deceived into their precarious professional situations by Canada's immigration policies and job market regulations that fail to reveal to them before their migration to Canada that their human capital will be unacknowledged (Bauder, 2003). Thus, from a corporate viewpoint, deskilled immigrant labour portrays the "flexible" workforce that Canadian immigration policies aspire to entice (Green & Green 1999, as cited in Bauder, 2003; Dobrowolsky, 2012). Li (2003) argues along similar lines by citing that Canada's immigration laws are premised on human capital discourses that privilege highly educated labourers in the assurance that they form the most eligible, flexible and readily integrated immigrants.

In a federal government study conducted in 1994, Fernando Meta analyzes a number of considerable human and social effects resulting from Canada's non-recognition of immigrant's foreign certificates (Galabuzi, 2006). The first was the impact of non-recognition of credentials on ethnic/race relations. Meta found that racialized immigrants who are excluded from their professions feel individually and independently isolated and as targets of institutionalized discrimination (Galabuzi, 2006). The second impact pertains to the human rights of immigrants. Simply put, from a human rights perspective, policies and practices that fail to recognize foreign certificates are in contravention to the protections enshrined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and by state human rights decrees (Galabuzi, 2006). Thirdly, the impact on immigrant integration often emanates from a lack of acknowledgement of their previous work experience, which often leads to reduced employment opportunities and low income (Galabuzi, 2006). This devaluation of immigrant foreign certification culminates in considerable drawbacks

in the Canadian job market (Li, 2003; Akkaymak, 2016; Bauder, 2003). Additionally, immigrant women face insurmountable obstacles to integration not only as a result of the non-recognition of the foreign credentials, but also due to the added responsibility of gendered and familial roles they are burdened with including caregiving and reproduction (Vosko et al., 2014; Kalleberg, 2013). Lastly, the mental health impacts are directly correlated to physical health problems and further linked to stress (Galabuzi, 2006). These acts of deskilling ensue in declining social mobility for well-skilled migrants despite the fact that the points system of immigrant selection is specially plotted to recruit expert workers (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). The more migrants are exposed to conditions in which they are incapable of applying their mental skills gained through tertiary learning, the more probable it is that they will endure lasting deskilling, a consequence that is more widespread among the female migrant population in Canada (Man, 2004).

Additionally, Creese & Wiebe (2012) in their study concludes that educational credentials are embodied, considering that the body of the occupier frames the way in which academic credentials are transformed into jobs in the local job market. For migrants, failing to have their academic certificates recognized, coupled with the lack of other types of embodied cultural capital such as proper intonation, work experience and traditional knowledge, are paramount to deskilling and declining professional mobility in Canada (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

Gender and Precarious Work

Gender is negotiated by way of racialization, class, ethnicity, sexuality, family status and age to frame immigrant women and men's realities in dissimilar and often contradictory ways (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). Women's precarious position, emanating from a simple gender inequality across immigration classes, raises critical questions about equitable access to decent jobs in the labour market (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). In the current job market, women, immigrants

and people of color persistently occupy the more precarious divisions of the job market (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012). Therefore, research works that fail to concentrate on the increase of precarious work in connection to persistent gender inequalities may mask critical qualities of the current job market (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003; Vosko et al., 2014). Jackson (2010) notes that more than one in four women (26.1%), as opposed to one in every ten men (10.8%) is employed in part-time work. Cranford et al (2003) in their research demonstrates how precarious work in Canada's labour market echoes the feminizing of labour standards. Further, the feminizing of labour standards signifies the corrosion of the traditional employment relationship as a standard, and the increase in irregular types of work that demonstrate characteristics of precarious work linked to women (Vosko, 2003; Jackson, 2010; Lewchuk et al., 2014; Fudge & Vosko, 2001). "Gender is the process through which cultural meanings and inequalities in power, authority, rights and privileges come to be associated with sexual differences (Lerner, 1997: Scott, 1986, as cited in Cranford et al., 2003, p. 455)." To analyze the "gendering" of a phenomenon (e.g., employment opportunities) is to center attention on the mechanism by which sexual heterogeneity evolves into social inequalities. Further, to contend that an experience is "gendered" is to assert that gender frames public relations in major organizations that regulate society such as the job market, the nation or the population (Cranford et al., 2003).

Some feminist scholars contend that women are disproportionately represented in precarious forms of work that is created by continued gender inequalities in family units accruing in women's larger engagement in unsalaried household work in comparison to men (Cranford et al., 2003; LCO, 2012; Merolli, 2012). For instance, the LCO (2012) point out that although 50% of Ontario's working population are women, yet, they make up 72% of permanent part-time workers. Cranford and Vosko (2014) show that women are overrepresented in permanent-part-

time and temporary part-time jobs when compared to men (see Appendix A.1 and A.2 for chart on share of men and women in permanent employment, permanent full-time employment and permanent part-time employment in Canada, 2008). Noack & Vosko in their research work on *who is in precarious work in Ontario* found that precarious work is unequally apportioned based on gender (as cited in LCO, 2012). An employee's social location distinctly intersects with the type of job to create conditions of advantage or disadvantage for some categories of employees (Noack & Vosko as cited in LCO, 2012). An analysis that not only reveals the patriarchal ideals of Canada, but also demonstrates a gendered precarious labour force.

Man (2004) affirms that immigrant women's work experience in Canada is made even more intricate by gendered and racialized institutional approaches in the guise of state actions and procedures, skills certification systems, organizational demand for Canadian acquired job experience and job market conditions that are set up to favor a male workforce. For instance, Creese & Weibe (2012) in their interview of highly educated sub-Saharan African men and women observed that the women encountered particular barriers finding a "survival job" because the need for Canadian-acquired experience, certification and intonations were unequal across gendered employment areas. However, Creese and Wiebe (2012) found that women's higher investment in further schooling positioned them in a better situation compared to men. Further, Man (2004) and Merolli (2012) asserts that the neoliberal restructuring that has been happening in the developed world since the 1980's has disproportionately impacted women. "The dominant discourse in neoliberalism argues for the natural and the inevitability of the mechanisms of globalization, structural adjustment, privatization and deregulations, thereby closing off challenges for possible alternative strategies and actions (Man 2004, p. 137)."

Succinctly put, as economic globalization grew since the 1980s, Canada's neoliberal state

experienced some fiscal reorganization, retrenchment, deregulation and privatization, which simultaneously led to the enactment of new migration policies that saw the prioritization of economic migrants to the state (Coburn, 2010). Indeed, as more and more services became privatized, they also became differently organized and controlled. (Man, 2004; Coburn, 2010; Merolli, 2012). Feminist intellectuals have maintained that restructuring is a gendered system since social assistance programs and policies influence women's material living conditions and frame gender connections (Merolli, 2012). Again, neoliberal restructuring has also contributed to the marginalization of immigrants (Shields, 2002 as cited in Man, 2004). The disintegrating of social assistance programs and the nurturing of extremely divided job markets impair immigrants' ability to effectively blend into their host society (Man, 2004; Merolli, 2012). Thus, in the current job market, immigrants, especially racialized immigrant women are progressively being used as flexible and expendable workforce, fitted to the needs of an internationalized economy (Man, 2004; Vosko, Zukewich, & Cranford, 2003; Premji et al., 2014; Merolli, 2012). The downward equalization of restructuring, deregulation and privatization has exacerbated job market situations by reducing earnings, and nurturing part-time, insecure and conditional work (Vosko et al., 2003). The polarizing effect of this goes beyond gender, race, class and ethnic lines (Vosko et al., 2003).

Arguably, immigrant women bear the brunt of increasing precarity of the labour market, as various studies have established that immigrant women and those from racial and ethnic backgrounds now endure greater difficulties in settling into the labour market, and are disproportionately situated in precarious work (Man, 2004; Premji et al., 2014). Additionally, the study conducted by Premji et al (2014) details the gendered ways in which racialized migrant women are affected by precarious employment. While internationally schooled male migrants

are winding up as cab drivers and factory workers, foreign-trained female migrant professionals are ending up in low-wage gendered professions such as personal support workers (PSW), hotel-room attendant, daycare assistants, fast-food servers, and office administrators (Premji et al., 2014). Usually, these jobs are part-time, contract-based or on-call (Premji et al., 2014, p. 136). This trend seems to be so prevalent that it is fueling a huge secret “shadow economy” (p. 136) of low-cost labour in the informal sectors of cleaning, child-minding, and catering (Premji et al., 2014). This directions mirror what post-colonial feminist scholars describe as the “racialized-gendered division of labour” (p. 136) in which low-pay, socially devalued, unprofitable, and precarious work are methodically unloaded to women, especially immigrant and racialized women (Premji et al., 2014). Furthermore, Premji et al (2014) found that racialized immigrant women regularly endured long periods of joblessness in between irregular work. The lines between formal salaried employment, formal unsalaried employment, informal employment, voluntary work, and domestic work traverse in obscure and controversial ways for racialized migrant women (Mantouvalou 2012; Premji et al., 2014). Mantouvalou (2012) argues that domestic work is highly gendered and typically carried out by immigrant women in an unregulated labour market arena. Due to the fact that domestic labour usually occurs in the informal sector, it is exempted from labour laws and standards, which in the words of Mantouvalou leaves the immigrant woman in a state of “legislative precariousness” (Mantouvalou, 2012). Furthermore, Mantouvalou (2012) describes legislative precariousness as the specific exposure produced by the clear exclusion or lesser extent of protection of some classes of labourers from protective laws.

Neoliberal restructuring has also brought about cuts and in some cases privatization to several previously subsidized government programs. As neoliberal restructuring advanced in the

1990's, the focal point of immigrant employment agendas was further restricted in conformity with the new government directives (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Kalleberg, 2013). Work in areas such as childcare, elder care and health care are being systematically shifted back to the home and unloaded onto the unsalaried work of women who are presumed to fill their generational roles as caregivers (Man, 2004). Due to the overrepresentation of women as consumers of community, social, and welfare services, and as workers in the public sphere, government cutbacks to these services affect them much more severely (Man, 2004). Consequently, several women are coerced to abandon salaried employment or settle for low-paying part-time jobs to meet their generational roles as primary caregivers. Armstrong (1996) observes that many women forfeit their jobs or are being “deskilled in a leaner and meaner work environment (as cited in Man, 2004).” Furthermore, those who pursue work are being directed into the private domain as part-time, flexible and expendable labour with no benefits or job certainty. (Man, 2004; Chui, 2011). Webster et al (as cited in Kalleberg, 2013) asserts that the budding casualization of employment relations has not only impacted workers, but also their households and communities. Hence, the study of labour relations should be extended beyond the workplace in order to fully understand the entirety of workers’ experiences (Kalleberg, 2013). Further, Webster et al (as cited in Kalleberg, 2013) argues that the “sphere of reproduction”- that is the household- is closely affiliated with the “sphere of production”- the work environment. Again, Man (2004) notes that over the past decade, the workforce involvement of immigrant women in Canada has been on the decline especially when compared to their Canadian-born counterparts or immigrant men.

Also, in the research on Chinese immigrant women, Man (2004) notes that regardless of their high professional credentials, most Chinese immigrant women still migrated to Canada as

dependents of their spouses who are the principal applicants under the economic class immigration category. These women, irrespective of high education, training and work experience did not immigrate under the “skilled worker” immigration class. According to Arat-Koc (1999) this is so because “skill is constructed and negotiated through ideological and political processes (p. 284).” Therefore, gender prejudices in interpretations of education, work and skill means that women’s abilities and individual qualities are either rejected or debased. As a result, the immigration process organizes and replicates inequality within the household by depicting one spouse (normally the woman) legitimately dependent on the other (Lee & Johnstone, 2013). This gender discrimination in immigration status “principal applicant versus dependents” (Man, 2004, p. 138) signifies the basic distinction between male and female immigrants with respect to their profession and status both in their country of origin as well as in Canada. Hence, most immigrant women come to Canada as dependents of their spouses under the family immigrant status (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Lee & Johnstone, 2013). One of the visible consequences of this is that as dependent spouses, women are predetermined as being not bound for the workforce owing to institutional discriminatory and sexist traditions enclosed within the immigration system (Lee & Johnstone, 2013). Also, entering as dependents of their spouses restricts women’s access to newcomer and employment services, reinforces their familial responsibilities as primary caregivers, and successively frames family schemes that authorize men’s economic aims (Ng, as cited in Creese & Wiebe, 2012). For this reason, expectations for economic alliance of new immigrants are negotiated via these gendered and racialized immigration approaches, job practices and newcomer agencies (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

While institutional racist and sexist practices in employment discriminates against immigrants generally, it disproportionately affects immigrant women more specifically, making

it labourious for them to locate work proportional to their certification (Man, 2004; Bauder, 2003). For immigrant women of colour, the job opportunities in a gender separated, racialized and internationalized job market are even further dangerously threatened (Man, 2004). Furthermore, “being foreign-born, a member of a visible minority group or female has a cumulative effect such that foreign-born women of color received the lowest wages and salaries of all workers (Boyd, 1992 as cited in Man, 2004, p. 141; Chui & Maheux, 2011).” Statistics show that the workforce involvement of immigrant women to Canada has not kept up with that of their Canadian-born counterparts. For instance, from 1986-1996, statistics Canada reports that the employment rate for immigrant men with ages between 25-44 dropped from 81% to 71%, while that of immigrant women of the same age range dropped from 58% to 51% (Man, 2004). Correspondingly, in the same period of time, the rate employment for Canadian born women increased from 8% to 73% (Badets & Howatson-Leo, as cited in Man, 2004).

Gender-specific discrimination remains rooted in the Canadian job industry and it is demonstrated in several ways (Galabuzi, 2006; Jackson, 2010). Racialized immigrant women are frequently depicted as less capable, less skilled, less methodical and principally secondary breadwinners (Galabuzi, 2006). Also, due to gender-specific racism, racialized immigrant women are subject to elevated levels of marginalization. In mainly female professions such as nursing, research shows continued discrimination, as nurses of racial backgrounds face obstacles in attaining managerial levels, and find themselves overrepresented in low-level positions such as nurses’ aide or orderly work (Galabuzi, 2006). Further, racialized job markets explain the segmentation of racialized immigrant women labour into the helping and caring profession in which they are the targets of pay injustice for the same or similar workload (Dobrowolsky, 2012). Racism and sexism distinctly intersect with class to determine the place of racialized

immigrant women employees in the job market, even in relation to other female employees (Galabuzi, 2006; Dobrowolsky, 2012). The recorded appeals made by some employers to work agencies for particular racial groups for certain jobs are additional proof of these racist tendencies (Galabuzi, 2006). Furthermore, racialized immigrant women, in addition to their concentration in low-end jobs, are also increasingly situated in precarious sites of contingent work--that is casual, contract and part-time work (Galabuzi, 2006; Jackson, 2010).

These jobs are regularly procured through job agencies, which offer exploitative payments on agreements that evidently emasculate their workers (Galabuzi, 2006; Jackson, 2010).

In their study of African migrants in the Vancouver area, Creese & Wiebe (2012) found that racial minority women faced particular hardships that made seeking additional education and training a principal tactic for negotiating entry into the local job markets. Similar to African men, African women faced hurdles in getting their credentials and job experience from Africa acknowledged by local employees. Also, they found that racist and sexist practices in the job market ensured that African women were paid less than their male counterparts for the same job, making it more difficult for these women to earn a living wage. African women experienced barriers in securing salaried clerical, sales and service work, the primary employment of Canadian-born women. Therefore, many African women could not gain entry to low-paying jobs that their male counterparts normally achieved, nor to those low-paying work ordinarily obtained by Canadian-born women. Further, discrimination by reason of their accent was one of the other obvious barriers these African women faced in securing a job. Job discrimination due to “African English” accents, a central aspect of embodied cultural capital, was more profoundly experienced by women than men due to the gendered nature of the Canadian labour market, in effect, significantly lowering women’s job opportunities. (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). Their research

reinforces the patriarchal ideals of a gendered workforce still prevailing in Canada presently. In addition, these findings presented by Creese & Wiebe (2012) that deskilling goes beyond the non-recognition of immigrant's credentials reaffirm what other scholars have presented. Indeed, not recognizing certificates should be perceived as part of a gendered method of deskilling that frames Black/African immigrant workers as incompetent.

Precarious Work and Mental Health

Given that most research works have been mainly focused on the way in which precarious work creates health inequalities, this section of the paper aims to throw light on the way in which precarious work can affect mental health. The goal here is to show some of the means through which precarious work/conditions can influence the mental health of workers, particularly immigrant workers who often have to endure multiple intersecting levels of inequality. It is important to show this particular connection in keeping with the aims outlined at the onset of this analysis. Employment and working conditions have influential consequences on health inequalities (WHO, 2008). Marmot & Wilkinson (as cited in WHO, 2008) note that work is the place where most of the major determinants of health are played out. This comprises both the conditions of work, and the nature of work itself. Precarious working conditions can expose employees to a range of tangible health hazards (WHO, 2008). The extent of precarious work in any society depends on the economic, social and political actions propelling the job market and welfare state policies.

Vives et al (2013) note that research on the health effects of precarious work is limited. While prior, precarious employment was restricted to employed minority subpopulations, nowadays, it has become commonplace in the larger population groups (Vives et al., 2013). In their population-based study of Spanish male (sample size n= 2970) and female (sample size n=

2709) workers, Vives et al (2013) found adequate evidence to support the broad hypothesis that precarious work is linked to poor mental health. Further, result of their investigation reinforces findings from similar studies that report the ways in which the different proportions of precarious work contribute to the decline of employees' mental health. Also the assumption that precarious work has a stronger effect on women's mental health in comparison to men's was again reinforced by the data: "the slope of the gradient was steeper in women, and overall association was stronger in them" (Vives et al., 2013, p. 5).

A similar study by Premji et al (2014) reveal that job market experiences of racialized immigrant women adversely affected both their physical and mental health. In their study, more than half of the participants reported experiences of "acute mental stress and depression", and others disclosed that they were on anti-depressants (Premji et al., p. 132). Also, their study supports the "healthy immigrant effect" (p. 137), which argues that immigrants upon arrival to Canada are generally healthier than their Canadian-born counterparts, but after a while in Canada, their health begins to decline (Premji et al., 2014; Benach et al., 2010). Further, Tompa, Polanyi, and Foley (2016) highlight the health effects of increasing employment insecurity in Canada. They assert that feelings of employment uncertainties, coupled with insecurity about finding another employment are relatively high among employees in precarious work. Tompa et al (2016) maintain that Canadian workers experience one of the highest job-related fatalities among the Organization for Economic Development (OECD) nations. The intensification of work and the stress it creates poses serious danger to employee's physical and mental health (Tompa et al., 2016; Lewchuk et al., 2014). Also, employees who notice job insecurity experience significant decline in both their physical and mental health (Ferrie et al., as cited in WHO, 2008; Lewchuk et al., 2014).

Furthermore, there is research to support the fact that working non-standard hours (that is, overtime, rotating shifts) has detrimental effects on women's health particularly those with burdensome household work (Lewchuk et al., 2014). Also, the failure to achieve a balance between job demands and household commitments that is aggravated by uncertain work hours has been precisely associated with heightened stress and poor health results (Tompa et al., 2016). Similar research studies reveal that workers in non-standard employment relations tend to endure impoverished working environments, experience more elevated stress levels, and are less healthy when compared to other employees in the population (Tompa et al., 2016). Workers in precarious employment relations experience lower health due to a myriad of factors such as greater levels of job uncertainties, difficult working environments, income, and less control over work environment and schedules (Lewchuk et al., 2003; Wayne & Michelynn, 2014; LCO, 2012; Stansfeld & Candy, as cited in WHO, 2008; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). In a 2005 study carried out by Artazcoz et al (as cited in WHO, 2008), 32.5% of Spanish female workers who did not have a job contract experienced poor mental health. It is in contrast to only 27.5% of male workers in a similar situation. See (Appendix B) for the chart on prevalence of poor mental health among workers in Spain by type of contract.

Vives et al (2013) posit that there are different ways through which precarious work affect worker's health: operating as an employment stressor, inflicting conditions on employees' private life (for example in their ability to plan ahead), by way of social and physical deprivation, through treacherous work environments, poor environmental safeguards, sporadic joblessness, work pressure, and illness presenteeism (p. 2). Further, research shows that employees in precarious jobs are two times more likely to suffer mental health problems when compared to their counterparts in stable employments (Canada Without Poverty, 2017). Poor mental health is

the most probable result of precarious work (Vives et al., 2013). Similarly, Benach, Muntaner & Santana (2007) identify two separate avenues through which employment conditions can likely affect an employee's health. The first is connected to the physical environment that is the space where work itself is carried out. The other avenue is the result of the labour process that affects an employees' life outside the place of work such as earnings and benefits (for example, vacation, pension benefits, and health care coverage). (Benach et al., 2007). Some researchers propose that job insecurity and temporary work are positively correlated to mental ill health (Vives et al., 2013).

Again, in a study conducted by Benach et al (2010), the researchers found an overrepresentation of immigrant workers in precarious jobs, professions and tasks. Also, they found that immigrant workers were more likely to be employed as labourers in precarious jobs with earnings below the poverty line, and also more likely to encounter abuse and exploitation on the job (Benach et al., 2010). More importantly, their research shows that migrant status can be an important determinant of occupational health inequalities (Benach et al., 2010). Further, Benach et al (2010) assert that most places and spaces in which migrant workers are employed are dangerous to their health. This is not the consequence of an isolated factor, but the result of multiple factors such as social exclusion, cultural and linguistic barriers, fear of retribution, failure to provide necessary health and safety training and barriers in accessing care and compensation when injured on the job (Benach et al., 2010). These myriad of factors combined create a toxic combination that induces stress in an individual and leads to mental illness.

Also, Lewchuk, De Wolff, King and Polanyi (2003) argue that most of the day-to-day anxieties of employees in precarious work relationships focus on the problems of stress and health. Ever since the 1970s, studies have revealed that the arrangement of work is as crucial as

exposure to hazardous materials and exposure to biomedical hazards in comprehending job-related health outcomes in permanent, full-time work (Cooper 1998, as cited in Lewchuk et al., 2003). According to Lewchuk et al (2003) Job Demand Control studies (p. 24) reveal that a worker's degree of control over the way in which work is carried out and work assignment both directly affect health. Thus, work in which workers have low levels of control and high demand seems to present workers to "job strain". Job strain has been shown to result in diminished job satisfaction, fatigue and depression, and overtime leads to stress-related diseases including risk of cardiovascular disease (Lewchuk et al., 2003). Further, workers in precarious jobs may be required to seek work on a routine basis, receive rewards based on accomplished assignments instead of on hours spent, manage multiple jobs in more than one location, and supply their own tools and training (Lewchuk et al., 2003). These kinds of precarious work arrangement are connected to three types of job-related health insecurities; "weak labour market regulation; increased injury and illness risks that are similar to permanent workers; and overall stress-related health risks (Lewchuk et al., 2003, p. 25)". Employees in precarious work relationships are inadequately protected in dangerous work conditions, and their frequently unrestricted work hours, intense work assignments and restricted decision-making scope contribute to high degrees of job-related impairment and diseases (Lewchuk et al., 2003; WHO, 2008).

Over 400 employees in precarious employment relationships within the province of Ontario responded to a survey designed by Lewchuk et al (2003) to examine the concept of "employment strain". Preliminary analysis of the survey revealed that stress-related health issues are grave for employees in precarious working conditions. Further, Lewchuk et al (2003) highlight seven components of "employment strain" as follows; "employment uncertainty, earnings uncertainty, household precariousness, scheduling uncertainty, location uncertainty,

task uncertainty, and employment uncertainty workload (p. 29)”. Results of the survey show that the health issues that seem to be more burdensome for employees in precarious working environment are “stress-related tension and exhaustion (p.32)”.

Additionally, the devaluation of immigrant credentials has far-reaching effects on both their physical and mental health (Bauder, 2003). Galabuzi (2006) argues that the economic exclusion experienced by immigrants either through the devaluation of their credentials or the systematic de-skilling of their experiences, culminates in emotional and psychological stresses that in most cases develop into mental health conditions. Other research suggests that mortality rates for temporary employees are significantly greater than for full time, permanent employees (Kivimaki et al., as cited in WHO, 2008).

Precarious Work and Income Insecurity

The OECD has reported increasing rates of income inequality within the Canadian nation-state (Bryant, 2015). According to Raphael (2009) income is an especially crucial determinant of health as it functions as a marker of different experiences with various social determinants of health. WHO defines the social determinants of health (SDOH) as “the conditions of daily life-- the circumstances in which people are born, grow, live, work, and age” and how they result from the “inequitable distribution of power, money, and resources-- the structural drivers of those conditions of daily life- globally, nationally, and locally (WHO, as cited in Raphael, 2015, p. S17). Although income is by itself a determinant of health, also, it is a determinant of the quality of all other determinants of health including housing, early life, food security, employment and working conditions, and education (Raphael, 2009; Premji et al., 2014). Also, income determines “the need for a social safety net, the experience of social exclusion, and the experience of unemployment and employment security across the lifespan”

(Raphael, 2009, p. 9). Furthermore, it is also a central part of the experience of women in Canada and their higher prospects of living under circumstances of low-income in Canada (Raphael, 2009). Raphael (2015) identified precarious work, as one of the emerging SDOH threats to which Canada's liberal welfare state is vulnerable. Similarly, precarious work has been recognized as one of the prevailing causes of income inequality in most OECD countries (LCO, 2012).

There is sufficient research available that demonstrates an income gap between racialized immigrant women and their Canadian-born counterparts (Lewchuk et al., 2014). Although this finding can be ruled as a migration issue, the role of racialization that brings about differential access to education, occupation, and other human capital between immigrants of color and their Canadian-born counterparts cannot be overemphasized (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). Due to the racialized nature of these issues, Galabuzi (2006) frames the polarity of the job market as a type of "economic apartheid (p. 58)". Subsequently, Burns (2015) presents two separate mechanisms through which income inequality affects mental health. The first is that income inequality brings about direct stress because of social contrasts, where the least well-off individuals develop feelings of defeat, humiliation, indignation, and social defeat when comparing themselves to those most well-off (Chiavegatto Filho et al., as cited in Burns, 2015). The second mechanism is through the erosion of social capital in groups and societies, leading to social disintegration and leaving people susceptible to psychosocial stressors (Wilkinson; Mansyur et al., as cited in Burns, 2015). Hence, Kawachi et al (as cited in Burns, 2015) argues that a person's health is not only determined by their individual incomes, but also by the incomes of other members of their groups or societies.

Again, research shows that precarious forms of work are associated with income

insecurity that is described as the leading cause of social stress and fatigue. Given that income is one of the chief determinants of health, income insecurity therefore amplifies overall stress, anxiety and depression, which are classified as mental illnesses (Canada Without Poverty, 2017). Galarneau & Morissette (as cited in Stewart et al., 2006) assert that there remains a 20% income gap between immigrant women and their non-immigrant counterparts even after a decade of residing in Canada. Similarly, prior to now, studies on Canada observed that over several decades, the incomes of immigrants in time converged with those of native-born Canadians; but by the mid 1990's this convergence became doubtful (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). Current research by Statistics Canada certify a growing and widening gap between the incomes of immigrants and those of their Canadian-born counterparts that is no longer expected to close at all (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Akkaymak, 2016; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Similarly shocking from a policy viewpoint, the declining course of immigrant incomes in the Canadian State corresponds with rising trends in their educational levels (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). Although immigrants are twice as likely as their Canadian-born counterparts to be university educated, their employment rate (79%) remains lesser than their Canadian-born university educated counterparts (90%) (Bollman, as cited in Akkaymak, 2016). Furthermore, Akkaymak (2016) maintains that immigrants are underprivileged with respect to their income. For example, university educated immigrants who entered Canada between 2006 and 2010 had incomes about \$30,000 less than that of their Canadian-born university educated counterparts (Bollman, as cited in Akkaymak, 2016).

Galabuzi (2006) argues that racialized immigrant groups are constantly overrepresented in low-income division and underrepresented in the high-income groups. But this analysis is not so for their white counterparts (Galabuzi, 2006; Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Lewchuk et al., 2014). Racial stratification by income group reveals that visible minority groups are disproportionately

represented in the lower rung of the income decile (Lewchuk et al., 2014; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Also, in the survey conducted by Lewchuk et al (2014) the researchers found that women who responded to their survey reported to being paid on average, 13% less than their male counterparts. This finding affirms the persistent disadvantages women confront in the job market regardless of their increased involvement (Lewchuk et al., 2014; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). The pay setback of women is particularly high for women in precarious work when contrasted to men in precarious work (Lewchuk et al., 2014). Further, Galabuzi (2006) notes that the only class with a single digit gap between racialized and non-racialized workers' earnings is the unionized division. Thus suggesting that unionization could potentially enable Canadian government address the income inequality lingering in Canada's "color-coded (Henry et al., 2017, p. 5)" job market (Galabuzi, 2006; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). In 1998, out of an estimated 2,905,100 unionized employees in Canada, only 203,100 or 7% of racialized individuals belonged to a union (Galabuzi, 2006). Simply put, racialized workers are underrepresented in unionized workplaces and this is as a result of several factors, primarily employment discrimination encountered by racialized groups who are denied access to unionized jobs (Galabuzi, 2006).

Further, Galabuzi (2006) makes reference to a study conducted to compare racialized group members in both the United States and Canada, which established that native-born racialized group members in the United States are better remunerated when compared to the same groups in Canada. Also, Jackson (2010) argues that although the workforce participation rate for immigrant women continues to be high, they are mainly concentrated in low-paying and precarious jobs. This in turn accounts for one of the major reasons for the relatively high poverty rates experienced by this segment of the Canadian population and their families (Jackson, 2010; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Aydemir & Skuterud (as cited in Creese & Wiebe, 2012) reveal that a

third of the decline in income among new immigrants can be ascribed to failure to acknowledge overseas work experience, a condition that emerges almost entirely in global North countries.

Precarious Work and Immigrant Women

According to 2006 Census information, there are an estimated 3.2 million immigrant women living in Canada. Also, a 2005 United Nations report shows that half of the world's international immigrant population, which stands at 51% are, women (Stewart et al., 2006). Further, Stewart et al (2006) argue that in Canada, unorganized policies, comprising those connected to immigration, resettlement, work and government support for health and social services, present obstacles to immigrant women caregivers. Gender, ethnicity and race control the ways in which immigrant women approach the job market (Stewart et al., 2006). According to a statistics Canada report, in 2009, 19% of immigrant women allowed into Canada were principal applicants in the economic class category, signifying that women are less likely to enter Canada as principal applicants in economic class than as dependent spouses in family class category (Chui, 2011). In 2006, 76% of all recent immigrant women to Canada were members of a visible minority group. This was up from the 55% reported in 1981 (Chui, 2011). Also, in 2009, an estimated 252, 200 individuals entered Canada with 52% of them being women (Chui, 2011). An estimated 5.1 million individuals identified as belonging to a visible minority group of which 51% or 2.6 million were women (Chui & Maheux, 2011). It is reported that the visible minority subpopulation has grown faster than the total population. In the years 2001-2006, the visible minority female group was an estimated 28%, which grew five times faster than the 5.6% growth rate for the entire female population in Canada and 13 times faster than the 2.1% reported increase among non-visible minority status women in Canada (Chui & Maheux, 2011).

Furthermore, according to 2006 census information, visible minority status women made

up 16.4% of the total female population in Canada (Chui & Maheux, 2011). This is a significant increase that is as a result of increased migration of women from non-European countries. In 2006, 84% of all immigrant women to Canada were born outside of the European nations (Chui & Maheux, 2011). As a consequence of this evolving immigration pattern, the percentage of new immigrant women with visible minority status has been on the rise. It is projected that if current immigration trends continue, 31% or an estimated 6.6 million immigrant women will identify as members of a visible minority group by the year 2031 (Chui & Maheux, 2011). Among the different groups that make up the visible minority population, black women represent 15.7%, thus becoming the third largest minority population only surpassed by Chinese women (24.3%) and South Asian women (24.0%) (Chui & Maheux, 2011). Although the black visible minority population is notably diverse, an estimated 7% of these populations are specifically from West Africa, with Ghana representing 4% and Nigeria 3% (Chui & Maheux, 2011). Galabuzi (2006) uses the definition provided by the *Employment Equity Act* of 1986 to define visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color (p.92). Further, using this definition, the act’s guidelines identifies the following subpopulations as members of visible minorities: “Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs, West Asians, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans, and Pacific Islanders (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 92; Block & Galabuzi, 2011, p. 6; Hudon, 2016, p.3)”.

According to Chui & Maheux (2011), visible minority immigrant women are more likely to be unemployed than both visible minority immigrant men and their Canadian-born counterparts. Prior to the 2006 census, 8.4% of visible minority women with ages ranging from 25-54 years were registered as part of the workforce but unemployed as opposed to 5.0% of other women (Chui & Maheux, 2011). Also, in 2005, 56% of visible minority women reported

being engaged in part-time or part-year work as opposed to 52% of other categories of women in the workforce (Chui & Maheux, 2011). The most common jobs for visible minority women of working age according to the 2006 census report are: processing and manufacturing jobs (10%) and healthcare related jobs (10%). Therefore, it can be seen that the working history and the working conditions of immigrant women can be traced directly to both their immigration status and class of migration. Premji et al (2014) observe that when compared to all other groups, immigrant women, particularly immigrant women of color and recent migrants, continue to encounter the worst job market situations and outcomes. Similarly, they are overrepresented in lower paying, and lower-skilled work defined by superior risks and uncertainty (LCO, 2012; Premji et al., 2014). Cranford et al (2014) observe that although women in general represent 60% of workers in part-time employment, immigrant women as a group remain overrepresented in this kind of employment. Refer to Appendix C for chart showing forms of employment by immigrant status and sex in Canada, 2008.

Additionally, information from 2006 long form Census revealed that racialized immigrant women had a fairly higher workforce participation rate than their non-racialized counterparts (62% compared to 61.5%) (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Again, when it came to employment rate, non-racialized women had a slightly higher rate than racialized women (57.8% compared to 56.2%) (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Statistics Canada (2009) define participation rate (including those employed and unemployed) for a specific group (age, sex, marital status, and geographic status) as the entire labour force in that group, stated as a percentage of the entire population in that group. Simply put, participation rate is the percentage of the working age population that is employed or looking for work (Statistics Canada, 2015). Lastly, the unemployment rate for racialized women stood at 9.3% as opposed

to 6.1% among non-racialized women (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Additionally, when compared to both racialized and non-racialized men, racialized women as a group fair significantly lower in all three indicators (participation rate, employment rate, and unemployment rate (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Refer to (Appendix D.1) for table showing employment, unemployment and participation rate of both racialized and non-racialized women in Canada in 2006). Furthermore, for comparisons across groups (racialized vs. non-racialized), it was observed that the participation rate among racialized groups (67.3%) was fairly higher than that of non-racialized groups (66.7%) (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Also, the employment rate for racialized groups was reportedly lower (61.5%) than that of non-racialized groups (62.6%) (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Finally, racialized populations reported a higher unemployment rate (8.6%) than non-racialized populations (6.2%) (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Refer to Appendix D.2 for table showing the employment, unemployment and participation rates among racialized groups.

Political Economy of Precarious Work

Coburn (2010) argues that the distinct viewpoint of political economy is that it centers on the associations between health, the political, social, and economic aspects of people's lives, in diverse communities, classes, neighborhoods, or cultures. From a political economy viewpoint, politics and economics are interdependent in framing living and working conditions (Coburn, as cited in Bryant, 2015). Also, according to Coburn (2010) neoliberalism maintains, "free enterprise policies produce economic growth, which in turn is the basis for all human well-being (p. 66). The beliefs that the market is the most effective way by which resources are distributed and hence a mechanism by which to advance perpetual economic development is at the core of the neoliberal agenda (Merolli, 2012). Again, Coburn engages a materialist approach- asserts that perceptions and systems develop from the way a nation regulates production and applies ideas

such as methods of production and class (Coburn, 2010). Further, Coburn (2010) affirms that in a global capitalist environment, restricted neo-liberal structures are better for the health of the population than greater neo-liberal influences.

Furthermore, Coburn (2010) maintains that the current social formation in Canada is best typified by a capitalist method of producing goods and services reflective of a specific form of a uniquely capitalist nation. One of the most distinctive features of capitalism is the prevailing power of those who own and regulate the factors of production (Coburn, 2010). Esping-Andersen explains that there are three dominant forms of the welfare state: the first is described as the social democratic welfare states- show the highest decommodification and upholds citizenship entitlements (as cited in Coburn, 2010). The second type is described as the liberal welfare state, which depends mostly on the market and stresses means and income testing (Esping-Andersen, as cited in Coburn, 2010). The third form is described as an intermediate group, the conservative welfare states characterized by class and status, based insurance schemes, and a strong belief on the household to offer support (Esping-Andersen, as cited in Coburn, 2010, p. 71). Again, Esping-Andersen argues that the degree of advancement of the welfare state determines the extent of “decommodification,” which is the degree to which workers are able to maintain employment in society without reliance on the market as the arbiter of resources (as cited in Benach et al., 2007; Coburn, 2010). A sound welfare economy secures workers from economic instability in times of unemployment and other impediments to their working life, leading to “decommodification” of work (Vives et al., 2013; Benach et al., 2007). In addition, Esping-Andersen asserts that the welfare state and the job market are twin institutions heavily inter-related and it is impossible to comprehend the job market without musing over the welfare state institutions that encompass it (Esping-Andersen, as cited in Benach

et al., 2007).

Likewise, Vives et al (2013) argue that the degree of precariousness of work in any given society is dependent on the sociopolitical and economic forces controlling the job market and its welfare state policies. In a Canadian context, neoliberal cost cutting has enlarged public provisions in the private domain (Lee & Johnstone, 2013). Social necessities previously addressed in the public domain (for example healthcare, education, childcare, and social assistance) are now progressively met in the private domain (Lee & Johnstone, 2013). Therefore, what these varying studies suggest is that the rise of precarious work and its gendered aspects can all be traced to the dominant political ideology, neoliberalism, present within the Canadian nation-state.

Similarly, the Kim et al (2012) systematic review on the influence of welfare regime on job-related health outcomes revealed that, indeed welfare state regimen is an important indicator of job-related health outcomes. The welfare state orientation of a particular nation is significantly correlated to job-related health. For instance, precarious workers in social democratic welfare states report higher or equivalent health outcomes when compared to their counterparts in permanent employment (Kim et al., 2012). Conversely, precarious employment in the other forms of the welfare state are observed to be linked to poor health results comprising low self-reported health, mental health issues, and work-related injuries (Kim et al., 2012). More importantly, Coburn (2010) argues that societies are classified as exhibiting specific kinds of capitalism in relation to the mode in which they regulate the provisions of care for their residents, or more succinctly, according to the type of welfare-state regime to which they belong. Further, Coburn explores the idea of global capitalism to evaluate historical transformation and welfare-state regimes and to explain health and health care inequalities in global North.

According to Esping-Andersen's (as cited in Coburn, 2010) typology of the welfare state, Canada belongs to the liberal nations characterized by dominant neo-liberal ideology that stresses state retraction from economic matters, thus reducing the "redistributive functions of social programs in particular, and public policy in general (Bryant, 2015, p. s11)". As Saint-Arnaud and Bernard point out, trade is a central focus of public policy in the liberal welfare state, and the main institution is the market (as cited in Bryant, 2015). Coburn (2010) maintains that there is an association between rising income inequality, health inequality, and neoliberal politics. It is noteworthy to mention here that Canada's unique position in the welfare-state classification helps to account for the organization of labour in this society and further explains why governments thus far have remained unresponsive to calls for changes to legislations that promote precarious work.

This paper argues that it is inconsistent with the tenets of capitalism and neoliberalism for government to interfere in the organization of labour within the state. Doing so would provoke powerful influences that governments depend on for support. Hence, the interest of the rich and powerful trumps the needs of those in precarious working environments. Furthermore, consistent with the neoliberal ideology, it has been observed that countries in the global North are continually seeking to tighten their borders by enacting stricter immigration policies with restricted rights to work and reduced social welfare policies (Waite et al., 2015). In addition, Waite et al (2015) asserts that globalization and the introduction of neoliberal policies in the global North has resulted in the creation of a two-tier job market which is consequently split between highly secured employees (that is those workers who hold permanent full-time contracts) and highly insecure or flexible work mostly appropriated by migrants and women. Again, this paper maintains that it is on this latter division that the immigrant women in this

analysis is often to be found.

Precarious Work in other Jurisdictions

This section looks at the health impact of precarious work in the European context. Throughout this analysis, the health impact of precarious work has been presented in the Canadian context. It is important to include a discussion of this global reality in other jurisdictions; therefore, this section of the paper will focus specifically on Spain and Italy to demonstrate commonalities with Canada. Given that both Italy and Spain have experienced a surge in global migration in recent years, it is crucial to explore how working conditions might have influenced both the physical and mental health of their vast immigrant working populations. Menéndez et al (2007) notes that precarious forms of labour are a common reality in European union (EU) countries with undeveloped welfare states like Spain, where around a quarter of the female population are hired on fixed-term contract. As previously stated in the preceding section, the welfare state and the job market are two separate institutions, heavily interdependent thus making it impossible to understand the job market without taking into account the welfare state institutions that frame it (Esping-Andersen, as cited in Benach et al., 2007). Thus, in attempting to explore the labour market relations of both Spain and Italy, it is important to first highlight the distinct type of welfare state to which they belong.

Fuentes (2011) describes Italy and Spain as belonging to the “Mediterranean welfare regime (p. 22)” typical of Southern Europe. Although there continues to be widespread debate within academia regarding this fourth model, with so many writers arguing that the Mediterranean countries are simply latecomers to the conservative/corporatist welfare states (Ferrera as cited in Fuentes, 2011). This welfare regime is a mix of both the conservative/corporatist and social democratic models (Fuentes, 2011). In the Mediterranean

welfare state, the state compliments the role of the family, which acts as the primary component in the social order (Fuentes, 2011). Further, the Mediterranean welfare regime occupies a middle position on the “decommodification” hierarchy (Fuentes, 2011, p. 22).

The European Commission (2012) cites that in recent times, Spain has become one of the preferred destination countries for immigrants, making it one of the nations with the largest percentage of immigrants within the European Union (EU) (as cited in Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2013). In 2010, an estimated 12.2% of the total population of Spain was foreign-born. This is up from the 1.6% reported in 1998 (National Institute of Statistics, as cited in Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2013). Further, a record 540, 000 people (or 1.6% of the population) are undocumented immigrants (OECD as cited in Benach et al., 2010). These undocumented workers are more vulnerable to higher than normal rate of unsafe working arrangements, and confront insurmountable challenges to health and social service use (Benach et al., 2010). Characterized since the middle of the 1980’s by significantly high unemployment and temporary employment rates in contrast to other EU countries, Spain’s job market demonstrates a high prevalence of insecure employment even in periods of economic boom and low unemployment (Vives et al., 2013). However, since 2008, due to the global economic downturn, the rate of unemployment advanced from 11.3% in 2008 to an alarming 21.6% in 2011, with the rate of unemployment among immigrant groups surpassing 30% in 2011 (Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2013). In a survey carried out in 2008 and followed up in 2011, Agudelo-Suárez et al (2013) observed a growth in the prevalence of poor mental health among immigrants especially immigrant women due to factors such as high unemployment (45 to 63% in women, and 30 to 60% in men), and low wages, which was defined as receiving less than 1200 euros monthly. Again, an analysis based on wages show that between 35-46% of migrant women receive less than 1200 euros per month

whereas; the ratio for men was between 24-45% (Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2013). This analysis again shows the earnings difference between immigrant men and women with a higher proportion of women receiving less pay than men.

In the Italian context, similar research work by Pirani & Salvini (2015) and Minelli, Pigni, Chiavarini & Bartolucci (2014) found that permanent full-time contracts defined the vast majority of contracts in Italy up until the late 90s, thus ensuring reasonably low-levels of job instability. But reforms in the early 2000s initiated various types of contractual, flexible and precarious work (Pirani & Salvini, 2015). Again, as noted in Spain, the rise of this type of precariousness was observed in Italy in the period from 1997-2008. Using a survey on health conditions developed by the Italian National Statistical Institute (ISTAT) from 2004 to 2005, Pirani and Salvini (2015) found that workers with temporary work contract reported higher incidences of poor mental health than those with permanent work contracts. The trend was the same for self-reported health between the two groups. Additionally, Pirani & Salvini (2015) present evidence to show that precarious contractual conditions negatively affect health, especially for Italian women's self-reported health.

Also, Pirani & Salvini (2015) found that temporary employment does not pose any adverse health risk for men. Conversely, Minelli et al (2014) found that economic inequality among female employees does not determine their self-reported health condition. Instead, a strong association was found between temporary employment and poor self-reported and mental health among male employees. Finally, Pirani & Salvini (2015) found that prolonged periods in temporary employment have adverse effect on an employee's health. What this means in effect is that in the Italian context, irrespective of gender, being situated in precarious work has an adverse effect on the mental health of workers. It is noteworthy to mention here that there are not

a lot of Italian studies addressing the issue of precarious work and health. In sum, it is crucial to note that in the countries categorized as the EU-15 (the number of countries including Spain and Italy in the EU before the acceptance of ten candidate States on May 1, 2004, OECD, 2005) the percentage of workers with temporary contract, although generally lower than those seen in North America, remains significantly higher for women (13%) than men (5%) (Menéndez et al., 2007). Further, Menéndez et al (2007) posit that a higher percentage of workers in temporary contract employment in the EU-15 countries endure dangerous working conditions detrimental to both their physical and mental health. A trend that is arguable similar to those witnessed in Canada.

Conclusions and Way Forward

The analysis in this paper shows how women, particularly racialized immigrant women endure multiple intersecting levels of obstructions and inequities shaped by gender, class, migratory status, and race relations in their attempt to find suitable employment, maneuver work-life balance, while at the same time fulfilling their familial roles as primary caregivers within the post-migration framework. The perspectives of marginalized immigrant populations particularly women are crucial in the development and enactment of policies that have the potential to change the way we work and the kinds of jobs we create. Also, if we are to move towards a more just and equitable society, the perspectives of these marginalized groups must be deeply indulged. As the processes of internationalization intensifies, the Canadian nation-state, in an attempt to gain total advantage of the mobility and flexibility of human capital, is devising new strategies to vigorously enlist skilled immigrants in the labour market. Nevertheless, neoliberal policies and practices negotiated by the certification demands of regulatory bodies, unfair job market practices, racist and sexist practices entrenched in Canadian nation-state, and women's

generational roles as caregivers traverse in difficult ways to exclude highly qualified and proficient immigrant women. Dobrowolsky (2012) concludes that there is a need to oppose the invisibilization of immigrant women, by taking into account, their viewpoints based on their lived realities and by using their perceptions to instruct public policy discussions. It is in line with such thinking that I took up the task to make visible what hitherto has been rendered invisible by the machinations of power within the neoliberal nation-state.

A number of policy issues emerged from this critical literature review coupled with my own experience with precarious work that is beyond the scope of this analysis. Firstly, if Canada's immigration policy is centered on the recruitment of economic and market migrants who are believed to be the best, brightest, and most deserving, how then are these well-educated and marketable migrants routinely found in the lower-end of the labour market? Secondly, it raises important questions about the systemic exclusion of immigrant women from the Canadian labour market through mechanisms of discrimination such as "lack of proper English accents", lack of Canadian work experience" and so on. These racist manifestations in the labour market are not an isolated occurrence but in my view a careful ploy by the nation-state to fill even the lowest jobs with the brightest minds from around the world, hence, maintaining its competitiveness in the world sphere. Several studies have brought this issue of systemic racism and oppression in the Canadian labour market to the forefront, yet little attempt has been made to address them. For African immigrant women like myself who have experienced firsthand the perils of precarious work situations, it can safely be said that the Canadian public policy response is particularly problematic.

It is a known fact that till today, public policy within Canada has largely ignored the profound consequences of precarious work for individuals and for the social determinants of

health. Nothing has been done by way of public policy to address this crucial determinant of health. This is not to say that no attempt has been made to address this issue, but what we have seen is the failure of successive governments to make good on their campaign promises. Bryant (2015) defines public policy implementation as “a course of action or inaction anchored in a set of values about appropriate public goals and a set of beliefs about how best to achieve those goals (p. S11).” Public policy response frames the scope of income inequalities within nations (Bryant, 2015). And income has been shown not only to determine material living conditions, but to also determine the enjoyment of all the other social determinants of health to which employment and its conditions are included (Raphael, 2009). The reason why public policy within the Canadian nation-state continues to advance income inequality, but has been unsuccessful in approaching it, is the power asymmetry between various societal divisions that frame the political affairs of the country (Raphael, 2015). This explains the lack of a national policy on precarious work in Canada. But it also shows the rationale behind the inconsistent policies in various provinces.

In conclusion, the WHO commission on the SDOH asserts that it is right for the economy and health equity to make the advancement of equitable employment and decent work the focal point in a nation’s policy agendas and policies for growth (WHO, 2008). Lastly, WHO commission recommends the following: “full and fair employment and decent work be made a shared objective of international institutions and a central part of national policy agendas and development strategies, with strengthened representation of workers in the creation of policy, legislation, and programs relating to employment and work (WHO, 2008, p. 76).”

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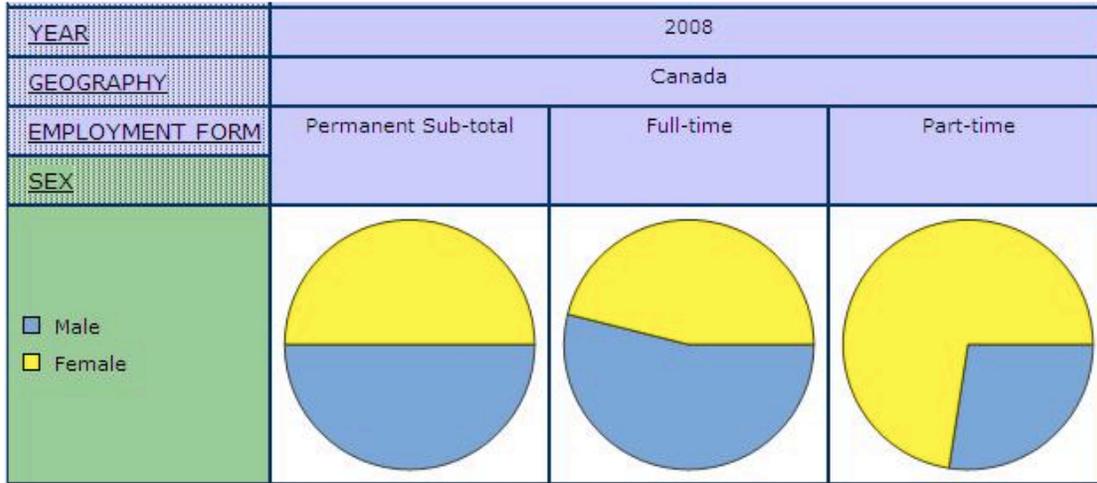
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Appendix A.1

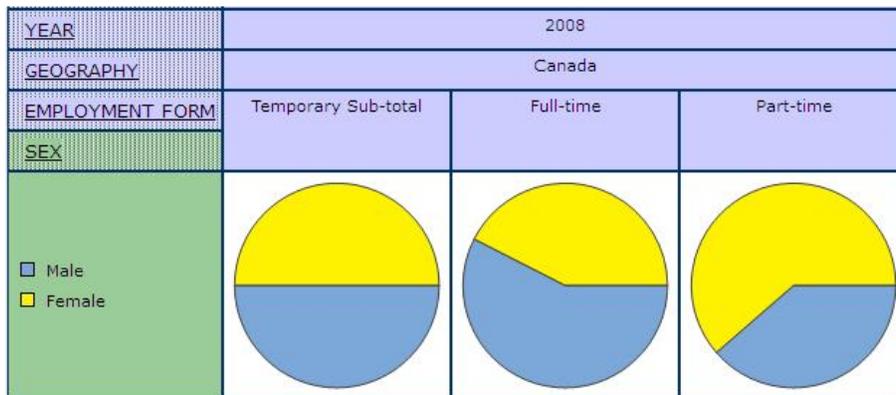
Chart 1a: Shares of Men and Women in Permanent Employment, Permanent Full-time and Permanent Part-time, Canada, 2008



Source: Cranford et al (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.genderwork.ca/gwd/modules/precarious-employment/>

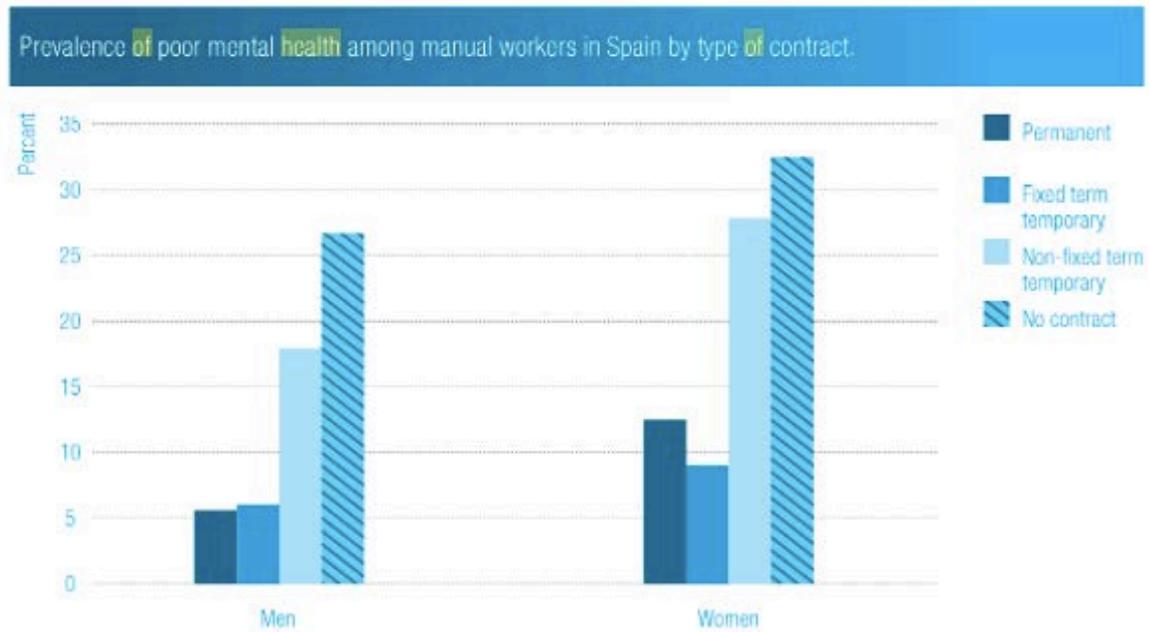
Appendix: A.2

Chart 1b: Shares of Men and Women in Temporary Employment, Temporary Full-time and Temporary Part-time, Canada, 2008



Source: Cranford et al (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.genderwork.ca/gwd/modules/precarious-employment/>

Appendix B: Prevalence of poor mental health among manual workers in Spain by type of contract



Source: Artazcoz et al., 2005

Source: WHO (2008)

Appendix C: Form of Employment by Immigrant Status and Sex

Table 1: Form of Employment by Immigrant Status and Sex, Canada, 2008

YEAR ⁱ		2008	
AGE ⁱ		Total - 15 years and over	
GEOGRAPHY ⁱ		Canada	
UNION COVERAGE ⁱ		Total	
HOURLY WAGE ⁱ		Total Employees	
HOURS WORKED ⁱ		Number of persons	
SEX ⁱ		Males	Females
EMPLOYMENT FORM ⁱ	IMMIGRANT ⁱ		
Permanent Sub-total ⁱ	Born in Canada	50.50%	49.50%
	Born outside Canada: Not a landed immigrant	51.80%	48.20%
	Born outside Canada: Landed immigrant	50.90%	49.10%
Full-time	Born in Canada	54.72%	45.28%
	Born outside Canada: Not a landed immigrant	54.59%	45.41%
	Born outside Canada: Landed immigrant	53.77%	46.23%
Part-time	Born in Canada	27.42%	72.58%
	Born outside Canada: Not a landed immigrant	33.76%	66.24%
	Born outside Canada: Landed immigrant	30.20%	69.80%
Temporary Sub-total ⁱ	Born in Canada	48.40%	51.60%
	Born outside Canada: Not a landed immigrant	59.64%	40.36%
	Born outside Canada: Landed immigrant	48.32%	51.68%
Full-time	Born in Canada	56.38%	43.62%
	Born outside Canada: Not a landed immigrant	63.41%	36.59%
	Born outside Canada: Landed immigrant	54.29%	45.71%
Part-time	Born in Canada	36.83%	63.17%
	Born outside Canada: Not a landed immigrant	50.34%	49.66%
	Born outside Canada: Landed immigrant	38.55%	61.45%

Source: Cranford et al (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.genderwork.ca/gwd/modules/precarious-employment/>

Appendix D.1: Employment, Unemployment and Participation Rates in Canada, 2006

TABLE 1 Employment, Unemployment and Participation Rates Canada, 2006

	<i>Racialized</i>			<i>Non Racialized</i>		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Participation rate	73.1	62.0	67.3	72.2	61.5	66.7
Employment rate	67.3	56.2	61.5	67.7	57.8	62.6
Unemployment rate	7.8	9.3	8.6	6.3	6.1	6.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census. Catalogue Number 97-562-XCB2006013.

Source: Block & Galabuzi (2011)

Appendix D.2: Employment, Unemployment and Participation Rates by Racialized Group Canada, 2006

TABLE 2 Employment, Unemployment and Participation Rates, by Racialized Group Canada, 2006

	Participation Rate	Employment Rate	Unemployment Rate
Total racialized population	67.3	61.5	8.6
Chinese	62.0	57.3	7.5
South Asian [1]	68.5	62.6	8.6
Black	70.7	63.2	10.7
Filipino	76.6	72.8	5.0
Latin American	71.9	65.4	9.0
Southeast Asian [2]	68.9	63.1	8.5
Arab/West Asian	64.1	56.3	12.1
Korean	54.8	50.1	8.5
Japanese	61.6	58.5	5.1
Visible minority, n.i.e. [3]	71.1	65.6	7.8
Multiple visible minority [4]	72.7	66.5	8.5
Non racialized [5]	66.7	62.6	6.2

Source: Statistics Canada - 2006 Census. Catalogue Number 97-562-XCB2006013.
 [1] For example, 'East Indian', 'Pakistani', 'Sri Lankan', etc. [2] For example, 'Vietnamese', 'Cambodian', 'Malaysian', 'Laotian', etc. [3] The abbreviation 'n.i.e.' means 'not included elsewhere'. Includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as 'Guyanese', 'West Indian', 'Kurd', 'Tibetan', 'Polynesian', 'Pacific Islander', etc. [4] Includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group by checking two or more mark-in circles, e.g., 'Black' and 'South Asian'. [5] Includes respondents who reported 'Yes' to the Aboriginal identity question (Question 18) as well as respondents who were not considered to be members of a visible minority group.

Source: Block & Galabuzi (2011).

Appendix E: Manual for constructing the PEPSO Employment Precarity Index (EPI)

Source: <http://pepsoc.ca/documents/manual-for-precarity-index-2016-06-21-final.pdf>

Manual for constructing the PEPSO Employment Precarity Index (May 2016)

This is the manual for using the PEPSO Employment Precarity Index that was developed for and used data from two major surveys of workers in the Greater Toronto Area and Hamilton in Ontario, Canada. The results from these surveys were published in the reports [It's More than Poverty](#) (2013) and [The Precarity Penalty](#) (2015). The purpose of this manual is to provide instructions for using the Employment Precarity Index so that other researchers may replicate it for their own purposes.

Please direct any questions to Dr. Wayne Lewchuk at lewchuk@mcmaster.ca

If using either the questions below or the index please acknowledge that they were produced by the United Way Toronto & York Region - McMaster University SSHRC CURA project on Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario (PEPSO).

PART ONE: CONSTRUCTING THE INDEX

The Index has 10 components, each with a potential value of 10. Three of the components (employment type, standard employment relationship and benefits) are calculated using multiple questions from the survey. The remaining 7 components use only one survey question each. The Index is calculated by summing the values of the 10 components for a score between 0 and 100. Instructions on how to classify workers using this score is detailed in part three of the manual.

Component 1: Employment Type

This component uses two questions from the survey. The first is the general question that asks the respondent to define their employment type (Question 1). We supplemented this with a second question (Question 2) that asked how much of their employment came through a temporary employment agency. If they indicated on question 2 that at least half their work came from a temp agency, they were classified as employed on a "temporary/short term contract (less than one year)" regardless of how they responded to question 1.

Question 1: Which of the following best describes the job/contract that paid you the most in the last 3 months? Please check one only:

<input type="checkbox"/> casual (on-call, day labour)	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> temporary/short term contract (less than a year)	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> fixed term contract, one year or more	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> self-employed-no employees	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> self-employed-others work for me	<i>If checked, score 0</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> permanent part-time-less than 30 hour per week	<i>If checked, score 2.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> permanent full-time- hours vary from week to week and could sometimes be less than 30	<i>If checked, score 2.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> permanent full time-30 hours or more per week	<i>If checked, score 0</i>

Question 2: In the last 3 months, what portion of your paid hours came from temporary employment agencies? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> all	<i>If checked, classify response in Question 1 as "temporary/short term contract (less than a year)"</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> most	<i>If checked, classify response in Question 1 as "temporary/short term contract (less than a year)"</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> half	<i>If checked, classify response in Question 1 as "temporary/short term contract (less than a year)"</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> some	<i>If checked, move on to component 2</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> none	<i>If checked, move on to component 2</i>

Component 2: Standard employment relationship

This component uses three questions from the survey. To determine if someone was in a standard employment relationship they had to:

- A. Indicate in question 1 they were employed full-time and worked 30 or more hours per week
- B. Reply yes to question 3
- C. Received benefits, as indicated in question 4

All those who did not fulfill these characteristics are **not** in a standard employment relationship, and would receive a score of 10 out of 10 on this component

Note: the maximum score on this component is a total of 10 points. Appendix A has been added to the end of this document as a visual guide to help researchers understand this component.

Question 1: Which of the following best describes the job/contract that paid you the most in the last 3 months? Please check one only:

<input type="checkbox"/> casual (on-call, day labour)	<i>If checked, score 10, and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> temporary/short term contract (less than a year)	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> fixed term contract, one year or more	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> self-employed-no employees	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> self-employed-others work for me	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> permanent part-time-less than 30 hour per week	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> permanent full-time- hours vary from week to week and could sometimes be less than 30	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> permanent full time-30 hours or more a per week	<i>If checked, score 0, they fulfill part (A) of component 2, move on to Question 3 in component 2</i>

Question 3: Does the following describe your current employment relationship? Please check one only

I have one employer, who I expect to be working for a year from now, who provides at least 30 hours of work a week, and who pays benefits.

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<i>If checked, score 0, they fulfill part (B) of component 2, move on to Question 4 in component 2</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> no	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>

Question 4: Do you receive any other employment benefits from your current employer(s) such as a drug plan, vision, dental, life insurance etc.? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<i>If checked, score 0, they fulfill part (C) of component 2 and are defined as being in a standard employment relationship</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> no	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> does not apply	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> don't know	<i>If checked, score 10 and move on to component 3</i>

Component 3: Benefits

This component uses two questions from the survey and determines if someone received benefits, regardless of their form of employment. If they received:

- A. Full benefits: Report yes to both question 4 and question 5.
- B. Part benefits: Report yes to either question 4 or question 5.
- C. No benefits: All other answers

Question 4: Do you receive any other employment benefits from your current employer(s) such as a drug plan, vision, dental, life insurance etc.? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<i>If checked, score 0 for component 3, and move on to question 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> no	<i>If checked, score 5 and move on to question 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> does not apply	<i>If checked, score 5 and move on to question 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> don't know	<i>If checked, score 5 and move on to question 5</i>

Question 5: Does your current employer(s) provide a private retirement income plan such as a pension plan, or a contribution to an RRSP (CPP does not count)? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<i>If checked, score 0 for component 3, and move on to component 4</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> no	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> does not apply	<i>If checked, score 5</i>

Component 4: Getting paid if you miss work

Question 6: Do you usually get paid if you miss a day's work? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<i>If checked, score 0</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> no	<i>If checked, score 10</i>

Component 5: Income variability

Question 7: In the last 12 months, how much did your income vary from week to week?

Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> a great deal	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> a lot	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> some	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> a little	<i>If checked, score 2.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> not at all	<i>If checked, score 0</i>

Component 6: Hours of paid employment reduced in the future

Question 8: How likely will your total hours of paid employment be reduced in the next 6 months? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> very likely	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> likely	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat likely	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> not likely	<i>If checked, score 0</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> not likely at all	<i>If checked, score 0</i>

Component 7: Working on call

Question 9: In the last 3 months, how often did you work on an on-call basis? (That is, you have no set schedule, and your employer calls you in only when there is work) Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> all the time	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> most of the time	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> half the time	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> some of the time	<i>If checked, score 2.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> never	<i>If checked, score 0</i>

Component 8: Knowing schedule in advance

Question 10: Do you know your work schedule at least one week in advance? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> always	<i>If checked, score 0</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> most of the time	<i>If checked, score 2.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> half the time	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> some of the time	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> never	<i>If checked, score 10</i>

Component 9: Paid in cash

Question 11: In the last 3 months, what portion of your employment income was received in cash? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> most	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> about half	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> less than half	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> none	<i>If checked, score 0</i>

Component 10: Health and Safety rights

Question 12: Would your current employment be negatively affected if you raised a health and safety concern or raised an employment rights concern with your employer(s)? Please check one only

<input type="checkbox"/> very likely	<i>If checked, score 10</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> likely	<i>If checked, score 7.5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat likely	<i>If checked, score 5</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> not likely	<i>If checked, score 0</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> not likely at all	<i>If checked, score 0</i>

PART TWO: LIST OF ALL INDEX QUESTIONS

1. Which of the following best describes the job/contract that paid you the most in the last 3 months? Please check one only:

- casual (on-call, day labour)
- temporary/short term contract (less than a year)
- fixed term contract, one year or more
- self-employed-no employees
- self-employed-others work for me
- permanent part-time-less than 30 hour per week
- permanent full-time- hours vary from week to week and could sometimes be less than 30
- permanent full time-30 hours or more per week

2. In the last 3 months, what portion of your paid hours came from temporary employment agencies? Please check one only:

- all
- most
- half
- some
- none

3. Does the following describe your current employment relationship? Please check one only:

I have one employer, who I expect to be working for a year from now, who provides at least 30 hours of work a week, and who pays benefits.

- yes
- no

4. Do you receive any other employment benefits from your current employer(s) such as a drug plan, vision, dental, life insurance etc.? Please check one only:

- yes
- no
- does not apply
- don't know

5. Does your current employer(s) provide a private retirement income plan such as a pension plan, or a contribution to an RRSP (CPP does not count)? Please check one only:

- yes
- no
- does not apply

6. Do you usually get paid if you miss a day's work? Please check one only:

- yes
- no

7. In the last 12 months, how much did your income vary from week to week? Please check one only:

- a great deal
- a lot
- some
- a little
- not at all

8. How likely will your total hours of paid employment be reduced in the next 6 months? Please check one only:

- very likely
- likely
- somewhat likely
- not likely
- not likely at all

9. In the last 3 months, how often did you work on an on-call basis? (That is, you have no set schedule, and your employer calls you in only when there is work) **Please check one only:**

- all the time
- most of the time
- half the time
- some of the time
- Never

10. Do you know your work schedule at least one week in advance **Please check one only:**

- always
- most of the time
- half the time
- some of the time
- never

11. In the last 3 months, what portion of your employment income was received in cash? **Please check one only:**

- most
- about half
- less than half
- none

12. Would your current employment be negatively affected if you raised a health and safety concern or raised an employment rights concern with your employer(s)? **Please check one only:**

- very likely
- likely
- somewhat likely
- not likely
- not likely at all

PART THREE: CLASSIFYING WORKERS USING THE INDEX

Because precarity is measured along a continuum, it is unclear what percentage of the workforce should be classified as precarious. Individuals receive a score from 0 (low precarity) to 100 (high precarity). Any choice of a cut point above which an individual is precarious could be seen as arbitrary. However, the research group decided to proceed with the *Index* because it allows better insights into the realities facing workers, their families, and their communities. We decided on a cut point for the *precarious* category that resulted in about 25% of the sample being precarious. This is a figure several Canadian researchers suggest are working in precarious employment.

We use the *Index* to divide the sample into four relatively equal-sized clusters. The cluster with the lowest scores is described as having *secure* employment. The next cluster, which has somewhat higher precarity scores, is described as having *stable* employment. The third cluster, with even higher precarity scores, is described as being in *vulnerable* employment. The cluster with the highest scores on the *Index* is referred to as being in *precarious* employment.

In both of our surveys, we used cut points calculated from the 2011 data reported in *It's More than Poverty*. We used the same cut points in *The Precarity Penalty* so we could get a sense of trends.

Data Cut Points			
Precarity level	Cut points	Average within cluster	Number in each cluster (2011)
<i>Precarious</i>	>=38	53.3	1,052
<i>Vulnerable</i>	18-37.5	28.1	977
<i>Stable</i>	3-17.5	10.3	1,097
<i>Secure</i>	<=2.5	0.6	932

APPENDIX A: A VISUAL GUIDE FOR COMPONENT 2

